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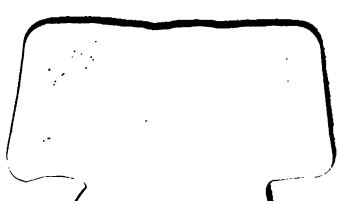
TRINITY HALL



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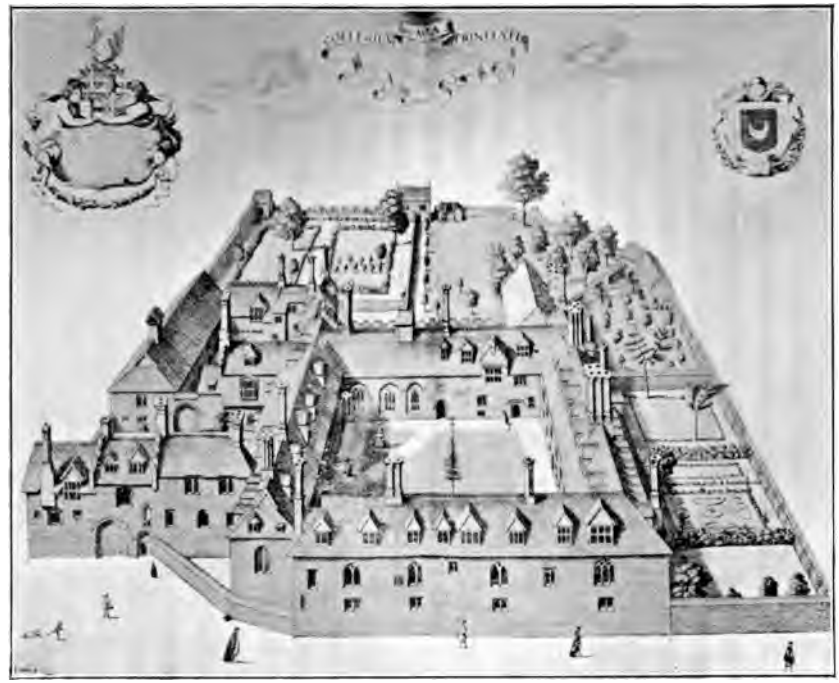

VIEW BY LOGGAN (*c.* 1688)

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

TRINITY HALL

OR

THE COLLEGE OF SCHOLARS OF THE HOLY TRINITY OF NORWICH

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

BY

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN

A.M. Aul. Trin.

LONDON

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PREFACE

PROBABLY the author, who has had experience of the difficulty of the subject, is as much alive to the shortcomings of this work as any critic. He can but humbly hope that the history of a College, peculiar in its origin and its subsequent development, and very dear to its sons, has thereby been made more easily accessible to some of them. It is impossible that mistakes should not occur. That they are not more numerous is due to the kind help of more than one member of the College in supervising the proofs, to the hearty co-operation of several historical scholars, to whom the writer has turned for advice, to the help and interest of the College affording him every assistance in investigating the records, and to the goodwill of the Master, always and in everything the best friend to the College and to all who are connected with it. He has himself contributed the better part of a chapter on the old Law

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degrees. It is only fitting to dedicate any work connected with Trinity Hall to him who has so lived and ruled that, in the words of the epitaph of a former Master:

PARENTIS NOMEN POTIUS QUAM CUSTODIS MEREATUR.

H. E. M.

SOME LEADING EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE.

1321-41.—Prior Crawden bought a house on the site of part of the Master's Lodge for the monks of Ely studying in Cambridge.

1350.—Bateman's charter of foundation, and royal license to acquire houses. Buying of the house of the monks of Ely, and of John Goldcorne's house at the south end of the Hall.

1352.—License of the Bishop of Ely to build a Chapel.

1354.—Buying of Draxesentre, a house at the north-east corner of the chief court.

1374.—Contract for building, probably the north side of the court.

1446.—Acquisition of the Church of St. Edward, King and Martyr.

1505.—First certain mention of a lay Fellow, John Purgold.

1513.—Consecration, after repairs, of the previously existing Chapel.

1525.—Stephen Gardiner Master.

1544-45.—Acquisition of Hennably, the garden to the north of the College, and diversion of Garret Hostel Lane to its present line.

1549.—Threatened amalgamation of Trinity Hall and Clare.

1559.—The College 'established by Act of Parliament.'

1562-63.—Rebuilding of the Combination-Room and the offices, and building of a west oriel to the Hall by Dr. Harvey.

1567.—Doctors' Commons established by Dr. Harvey under the control of Trinity Hall.

1580-1600.—The Library built.

1645.—Dr. Eden died.

1663.—No clerical Fellows at this date.

1728.—Parapets added to the court and the walls plastered.

1729.—Alteration of the interior of the Chapel.

1730-31.—The old Combination-Room fitted up by Dr. Chetwode.

1742-45.—The Hall rebuilt, the east front of the Court altered, the walls of the court ashlared.

1745.—Dr. William Warren died.

1747.—Dr. Andrew's legacy for rebuilding the whole west side (not accepted ultimately).

1768.—Final severance of the connexion of the College with Doctors' Commons.

1804.—Alterations in the Lodge by Sir William Wynne.

1822.—Alterations in the Lodge by Dr. Le Blanc.

1823.—Rooms built opposite the old Porter's Lodge.

1825.—The Trinity Hall Boat Club first known to have existed.

1847.—Mr. Latham appointed Tutor.

1852.—Burning of the east side of the chief court, and rebuilding by Salvin. Alterations in the Master's Lodge by Dr. Geldart (Mr. Salvin architect).

1856-58.—Abolition of the old rules of the Civil Law in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts, cessation of the old Civil Law Classes, establishment of the Law Tripos.

1860.—New statutes.

1863.—Lord Justice Romer Senior Wrangler.
1864.—Restoration and enlargement of the Chapel.
1872-73.—Demolition of the buildings at the old Porter's Lodge, and rebuilding (Mr. Waterhouse architect). Removal of the old gateway to its present site.
1876.—Decoration of the Chapel.
1877.—Sir Henry Maine, K.C.S.I., Master.
1879-80.—Tutor's house built.
1882.—New statutes.
1888.—Mr. Latham Master.
1889-90.—Latham Buildings erected.
1890-91.—Enlargement of the Hall. Alterations of the Master's Lodge by Mr. Latham (Mr. Ould architect).
1892.—New Combination-Room built.

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ERRATUM.

Page 186 (note), *for* 'Dr. Darnelly' *read* 'Mr. Darnelly.'

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

THE Hall is happily not singular in England, in being one of those names which by its sound calls up a crowd of memories. It is one of a class which stirs a passionate enthusiasm of loyalty among the men who can look back upon a connexion with 'the Old House,' and excites those feelings which are among the noblest fruits and constitute the proudest justification of the value of our public school and University system. On the banks of Cam. Isis, Thames, and Itchen, the grace-cup *In Piam Memoriam Fundatoris Nostri* means more than the stranger can easily realize. There is something not quite sound in the man who does not in his secret heart know, to his own satisfaction, that his own foundation is the best among them all.

But though not singular in kind, the College is singular now in name in Cambridge. It remains The Hall. The name is a stumbling-block to the unlearned. The preamble to the Founder's Statutes for this College explains clearly the proper uses of the various names by which a body of learned men who have been incorporated, and by which their house,

are known. These names are strictly correct as he uses them.

'We, William of Norwich, by Divine Permission Bishop of Norwich, make, ordain, appoint and establish, in the University of Cambridge, where we, though unworthy of it, received our degree of Doctor, a perpetual College (*Collegium*) of Scholars in the Canon and the Civil Law. And our pleasure is that the aforesaid College (*Collegium*) of Scholars be called the College of Scholars of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, and that the house (*Domus*) which the aforesaid College shall inhabit be named the Hall (*Aula*) of the Holy Trinity of Norwich.'

With these words Trinity College, the College of Scholars of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, was founded in 1350, when the Hall which they were to inhabit was not yet fully built or acquired.

College (*Collegium*) means a body of men united as colleagues. In good classical Latin the Augurs, the Pontiffs, the Tribunes, even two Consuls, are spoken of as collectively forming a *Collegium.* Similarly, *Universitas* meant a corporate body, with a common chest and officers. The Pandects, to which we may appeal with special fitness in this connexion, for they were long the special study of the College, define *Universitates* as '*Quibus permissum est, ad exemplum reipublicæ, arcam habere communem, et actorem, sive Syndicum*' (Pandects, i. 3). 'Hall' (*Aula*) means an open space, a courtyard, the hall of a large house, thence a large house itself, and finally a royal or official abode. 'Court' has run through much the same variety of meanings in English.

To confound the colleagues with the place in which they meet, and to confound the house with the

people in it, is very common. Just as we commonly call the *aula* of a *Collegium* the College, we call part of a church the choir, though the name properly belongs to the people who sit in that part. We call, in history, a certain Committee of Privy Councillors the Star Chamber, though that was really the name of a room. We now call another informal Committee of the Privy Council the Cabinet, which means a small closet. So now we call the College the Hall, and the man who lives in rooms in the Hall says that he lives 'in College.' The current misuse is really similar to the mistake which would be made in calling a regiment the barracks, or in saying that an officer with quarters in barracks lived in the regiment. But the founder's distinction, to which we have referred, is clear and correct.

Other Colleges in Cambridge were commonly known, as this was, by an abbreviated title taken from the *domus* or *aula* in which they were housed. Pembroke Hall, Clare Hall, Gonville Hall, St. Catherine's Hall, for instance, were usually so described. The name in our case became fixed, owing to the foundation by Henry VIII., in 1546, of the College dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity. There was no copyright attaching to a dedication. Churches dedicated to the same saint were common in the same town. St. Mary appeared in the original dedications of King's College, Corpus Christi and Jesus Colleges in Cambridge, St. John the Evangelist in those of Jesus and St. John's. In nearly every case, however, practical convenience dictated some distinctive description. The older College dedicated to the Holy Trinity of Norwich became commonly known by the name of its house, and became Trinity Hall; the later foundation dedicated to The

Holy Trinity, when the local appropriation of the Divine was passing away, was known by its proper designation as a society, and is called Trinity College. But frequent errors have occurred in lists and elsewhere through the common use of the name Trinity College. Thus, even in *Graduati Cantabrigienses*, published in 1884, under the care of the late Registrary of the University, Dr. Harvey, the Master of Trinity Hall, appears in the list of Vice-Chancellors as merely Dr. Harvey, Trinity. As late as 1728, in the notice of an appeal to the House of Lords, Trinity College is used where the College of Scholars of the Holy Trinity of Norwich is meant.

In any case, therefore, The Hall would have remained a Hall. That it remained as The Hall, while the designation otherwise vanished from among the Cambridge Colleges, was owing to other causes. From an early period, before Colleges were founded in Cambridge, the convenience of students had led to the establishment of hostels (*hospitia*), private lodging-houses where students could live cheaply. Letters patent from Henry III., February 7, 1265-66,* had put these under the control of the University. After Colleges had been founded, these corporations sometimes exercised control over some particular hostel, appointing a Principal and otherwise regulating it. Such hostels were Physwick Hostel, belonging to Caius College, or Gerard's Hostel, incorporated into Trinity College later. At Oxford similar hostels, closely resembling what we should now call Halls for non-collegiate students, were known as Halls. When, owing to the report of the University Commission, legislation was proposed to

* Dyer, *Privileges of the University*, i. 63.

reform and regulate the Universities in 1856, it was intended that the establishment of such places should be encouraged, and that private venture should be called in to provide cheap accommodation for University students who should be attached to no College. The Oxford name of Hall was suggested for them. Clare Hall and St. Catherine's Hall thereupon became alarmed lest they should be confounded by the public, which knows nothing, with private lodging-houses, and insisted upon their proper title of College, a corporation, being restored to them in common use. There was an obvious inconvenience in the College of The Holy Trinity of Norwich doing the same. But by the care of the Right Hon. S. H. Walpole, then member for the University, it was provided that the name 'hostel' should be used for private Halls in Cambridge,* and Trinity Hall was able to continue to use its familiar name, with no dread of disparagement, if indeed such a fear had ever had any real grounds.

William of Norwich, or William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, the founder of the College, was a man of mark in his generation.† He was one of those Englishmen who in the Middle Ages occupied a high position in Europe, apart from his English preferments, as a trusted official of the Papacy. As belonging to the World-State, he was naturally a patron of those studies in the international or non-national law of the time, of which he had been an early student. He founded his College to promote the study of the Civil and the Canon

* See Statutes for the Establishment and Regulation of Hostels, confirmed by the Queen in Council, July 31, 1858.

† The authority for his life is *Vita et Mors Gulielmi Bateman* Harl. MSS., xi. 3.

Law, which applied their rules, and in the case of the Canon Law decided cases, with no knowledge of or distinction drawn between such modern creations as separate kingdoms or nations. The Imperial unity of the Roman world might be a fiction, so far as any political control by a secular Prince was concerned. It was no fiction, even in the fourteenth century, in the whole of the domains of ecclesiastical, learned and social life in Europe. The history of mediæval Europe, not least on the academic side, is an enigma, unless we always remember that in theory Christendom was one State, and that in reality it was much more like one State than it is now. Bateman was a Roman—that is, a Western European—in his career, quite as much or more decidedly than he was an Englishman. He was born in Norwich, probably in the year 1298, a native of the second or third city in the kingdom in importance. His father was Bailiff of Norwich eleven times between 1301 and 1326. In the latter year he was a burgess in Parliament for the city. He was a landed proprietor in Norfolk and Suffolk—a man of evident wealth and position. Of his other two sons one became an Abbot; the other achieved knighthood in the wars of Edward III., and died of the Black Death. William studied the Civil and Canon Law at Cambridge, and became LL.D. about 1328. In that year he was made Archdeacon of Norwich by Bishop William Ayermin, a creature of Isabella the Queen and Mortimer, who had been Chancellor for a few months, from November 1326, during the revolution which overthrew Edward II. The patron was unworthy, and the office of Archdeacon, an ecclesiastical judgeship, for which Bateman's studies had well qualified him, was notoriously an unpopular

one, and open to accusations of corruption. It was a commonplace subject of disputation in the Universities of the day to propound the question, 'Can an Archdeacon be saved?'* We may remember that Bateman was growing up to manhood, and making his entry into public life, at a time when the national government and law of England were passing into contempt under Edward II. and those who opposed him. It may have helped to confirm him in his subsequent Roman attitude and policy.

The young Archdeacon, however, had little opportunity of showing his skill as a canonist in the Diocese of Norwich at that time. Almost immediately he sought a wider field of distinction, going to the Papal Court of John XXII. at Avignon. Here his knowledge and capacity won him rapid advancement. He was an Auditor of the Palace and Chaplain to the Pope. John XXII. was himself a great student of the Civil and Canon Laws, more at home in these fields than in theology. His pontificate was marked by his great struggles with the Franciscans and with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. This latter conflict continued under his successors, Benedict XII. and Clement VI.

Bateman, the official of all these Popes, was of course on their side, though political convenience joined with national distrust of the Papacy generally, and of an Avignon Pope — that is, of a Pope under French influence—in particular, made Edward III. and the English Church incline to the side of the Emperor.

* The extreme opposite view of the fruits of the study of the Canon Law is given by a Spanish Jesuit: 'The end of the Canon Law is eternal life, which we hope to attain by good works, by means of the accomplishment of those things which are commanded by Popes' (*Mendo de Jure Academico*, quæstio xxxi. 374).

Such an Englishman as William of Ockham, the Franciscan, who convicted John XXII. of heresy, and strenuously defended the imperial cause, represented the English view, Bateman emphatically the Papal. His advancement was provided for by those stretches of Papal power against which the English Church and nation had continuously protested, and against which they were shortly to legislate in the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire. By Papal Provision he was advanced in or before 1340 to be Dean of Lincoln.

On January 23, 1343-44, a Papal Bull of Provision appointed him to the See of Norwich to fill the place vacant by the death of Antony Bek. It was one of the many instances in which an unwarrantable stretch of Papal prerogative interfered with the liberties of the English clergy and the rights of the English Crown. It was one of the few cases in which the person chosen by the Pope proved to be a really fit holder of his preferment. He was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Clement VI. himself on May 23, 1344. He had not, however, been permanently resident at Avignon; he had been employed in diplomatic services by the Pope and by his own Sovereign, acting as a negotiator between Edward III. and Philip of Valois, his French rival. He was first in time, and not least in distinction, of the many diplomatists connected with Trinity Hall. Here the civilian was in his true element.

The Civil and the Canon Laws were part of the necessary machinery of civilization still. The latter dealt not only with ecclesiastical organization, but covered the whole ground where social and ecclesiastical questions meet and overlap each other. The national law of England knew nothing, for instance, of the law of

marriage nor of testamentary dispositions. They were the domain of the canon lawyer. The Canon Law was founded upon the decrees of Councils and the rescripts of Popes. That it was largely founded upon the forged Decretals did not then make it the less authoritative, for they were not yet detected. The whole was systematized in the Decretum of Gratian, with its additions down to the new Constitutions added by John XXII. himself, the patron of Bateman.

There was a general analogy between the Canon and the Civil Law. The professors of each went to the other if necessary for explanation or illustration. It was a maxim that every canonist must be a civilian, and every good civilian was more or less a canonist. The same class of ecclesiastics who were canonists were also statesmen, and it was certainly imperative that every statesman should at least be able to employ the advice of civilians. No national law was systematized sufficiently to be capable of recognition beyond the limits of a kingdom. The relations of State to State, the rights of foreign subjects, the rights of merchants trading abroad, the rights of belligerents, and the rules by which war might be made more tolerable for the contending parties and for neutrals, the whole of maritime law—Admiralty law as we should since have called it—came under the consideration of the civilian.*

A broader basis of systematic law, recognised as at least equitable and respectable in Europe at large, was necessary for the comity of international relations. To

* An Admiralty Court, acting on principles not recognised in the Common Law Courts, was coming into existence in Bateman's lifetime. See *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, edited by Mr. R. G. Marsden for the Selden Society, Introduction, p. xi *et seq.*

a State like England, of extensive foreign and maritime relations, the class of canon and civil lawyers was a necessity. That seemingly strange alliance in the English law courts of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty, recalls the conditions of the fourteenth century. But international law, such as it then was, belonged especially to the civilian, and the civil law was the school for diplomatists. Down to the end of his life Bateman was continuously employed in diplomatic missions, not only for the English King, but for the Papacy, which was anxious to end the English and French war, or to use it for its own advantage.

The specialists trained in the systematic law of Rome, and in the Canon law which owed so much to it, were naturally inclined to exalt their peculiar study, and to shape, if possible, all national law to the model of that of Rome. In many cases they were successful. In England, from the time when the Barons at Merton declared to Henry III., 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare,' down to the time when John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was put to death during the Wars of the Roses, amid popular execrations, because 'he had judged men to death by the law of Padua'—that is, by Roman law—there was a strong feeling against the supplanting of the national by the Roman law. Yet a legal reformer like Edward I. had brought an Italian civilian to England to help him, and among English lawyers some of those who moulded the forms of English law copied more or less consciously from Rome; or, like Bracton, through Azo, boldly and purposely imported the Roman law into the English.* Apart from their

* How the learning which was to be cultivated in Trinity Hall could affect England is concisely expressed by Professor Maitland:

peculiar province, the civil lawyers could discharge a useful function by bringing an intelligence trained in scientific jurisprudence to bear upon the improvement and devolopment of the national law. The class to which Bateman belonged, and the foundation which he established, became at last a credit and a strength to the laws of England.

But when once Bateman had been advanced to the possession of an English See, he seems to have set himself manfully to the discharge of his national duties to the English Church and people, striving so far as possible to serve loyally two masters, and to find time for the discharge of episcopal and of diplomatic duties, which were each enough by themselves to tax to the utmost the energies of any man.

There is no hint of slander against his moral character. He had passed through the frightful pollution of Avignon, from which Petrarch fled in horror, unstained by its worst vices. But Avignon was not the school for saints nor for lovers of learning for its own sake. Bateman was not in the least like the highest type of English Bishop, the St. Hugh, the St. Edmund, the St. Robert, of the previous century. The worldly-wise and politic atmosphere of the Papal Court, with its high ecclesiastical pretensions and lavish employment of ecclesiastical power for really secular ends,

'If we can think of "the common law" as common to England and to American republics, our forefathers could think of a law that was common to all mankind, and a law which expressly claimed to be this lay, or seemed to lie, in the Roman books . . . the cause for our wonder will be, not that Bracton, when writing that large book of his, borrowed so much from the legists, but that he borrowed so little' (Professor Maitland, Introduction to Bracton and Azo, Selden Society, 1894).

had probably been accepted by the lawyer-ecclesiastic as a matter of course. He was a Bishop and a lawyer of the fourteenth century, and he would show himself to be both in the strongest sense.

In 1345 he began a visitation of his diocese. The great abbey of Bury St. Edmunds claimed, of course, to be exempt from episcopal visitation. Bateman insisted on his rights, and a quarrel resulted, which led to an appeal by the Abbot to the temporal authority. Bateman excommunicated the Abbot's attorney, defied the royal justice, and was involved in a *præmunire*, his temporalities being seized by the Crown. The two ecclesiastics accommodated their differences, and at some time soon afterwards the Bishop was restored to royal favour and was doing diplomatic services again. But during the quarrel Robert Lord Morley had thought it a good opportunity to enjoy himself in the episcopal game preserves. He had wasted the manors, killed the deer, and abused the Bishop's servants. Morley was a noted commander of the time; he had been Admiral at Sluys and fought at Cressy. His eminent services neither dissuaded him from unworthy conduct nor deterred the Bishop from visiting it with excommunication. Nor would Bateman receive the distinguished poacher's submission till he had made him walk in penance, bareheaded and barefooted, through the streets of Norwich, carrying a wax taper to be offered at the high altar of the cathedral, with a confession of his fault.

Bateman was not only a maintainer of the rights and honour of his office: he was an administrator who desired to permanently benefit the diocese by organization. He drew up, for instance, a new code of statutes

for the nunnery of Flixton. He carried out as executor the foundation, planned by Edmund Gonville, Rector of Terrington in his diocese, of the Hall of the Annunciation of St. Mary the Virgin, which was designed to provide an educated parish clergy. He had probably already by the time of Gonville's foundation in 1348 begun to revolve the scheme for a foundation of his own, to promote among the clergy those special studies in which he was himself distinguished. A further purpose influenced him, after the pestilence of 1349, to reinforce with a trained and learned clergy the terribly thinned ranks of his parish priests, and to supplement the raw youths whom he had been permitted, in the stress of the crisis, to ordain. But this was probably a secondary or additional motive. Such a foundation as he planned was not the impulse of a moment, nor thought out during the stress of one eventful year, full of other engrossing cares. He intended nothing less than an attempt at once to go beyond any of the existing Colleges in Cambridge in the number of the society, and to inaugurate the study of sciences for which no special provision existed in England.

Before the scheme was set on foot the greatest social cataclysm which ever visited England descended on the country, and was probably not least felt in Bateman's own diocese. The Black Death came in 1349. When the terror-stricken survivors of the three visitations began to reckon from the pestilences as chronological eras, the first pestilence was computed as lasting from St. Petronilla to St. Michael, or May 31 to September 29, 1349. It began earlier really, and lingered longer. How many died we cannot say. The Middle

Ages are profuse in numbers, and absolutely untrustworthy in all statistics. But in the five previous years the average of annual institutions to livings in the Norwich diocese is 81; from March 25, 1349, to March 24, 1350, there are 831. Some clergy may have run away and had their places filled. If the vacancies sprang from a similar proportion of deaths in the two periods, the death-rate of the clergy in 1349-50 was ten times that of ordinary years.

On October 13, 1349, the Pope issued a Bull authorizing the Bishop to ordain and institute to rectories sixty men, though under the canonical age, that Divine service might not cease in the diocese. The Bull declares that the Pope has been informed that there are 1,000 parish churches in the diocese without incumbents. A Bull is likely to deal in round numbers, and 1,000 merely means a very great many. There were not more than 1,200 or 1,300 parishes in the old Diocese of Norwich; but, without insistence on the literal accuracy of the Bull, sufficient evidence remains of an awful calamity to the population. The Bishop stood to his post and did his duty. He traversed the diocese during the plague, encouraging the faint-hearted, supplying vacancies, and doing his best to prevent a general moral collapse from accompanying the disaster. Almost immediately after the plague had abated he turned to the scheme of his foundation.

The deed of foundation was dated from the Bishop's Manor of Thorpe, in his Diocese of Norwich, on January 15 in the Jubilee Year 1350.* The Bishop,

* The date of the foundation of the College perhaps illustrates Bateman's Papal position. The English date of the foundation was

in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, to whom his cathedral church is dedicated, and for the increase of knowledge of Divine literature, and of the Canon and Civil Law in the University, and for the advantage, rule and direction of the commonwealth, and more especially of his church and Diocese of Norwich, made, ordained, constituted and established a perpetual College of Scholars of the Canon and of the Civil Law. One of the Fellows of the said College was to be Custos, or Master, whom all the other Fellows were to obey in lawful and canonical matters, in scholastic exercises, and in all things touching the rule, advantage and honour of the College. He reserved to himself the power to make statutes. The instrument was ratified by the Bishop of Ely, the Diocesan of Cambridge, on January 20, and by the Chancellor and Masters of the University the next day. On February 23, 1350, the King, by letters patent, gave license to the Custos, Fellows, and scholars to acquire houses and hostels, and all sufficient for their habitation in Cambridge, and also advowsons of churches to the value of 100 marks *per annum*, which they might hold appropriated.

Everything was done decently and in order. The

1349. In the fourteenth century the usual beginning of the year in England was March 25. Papal instruments of the fourteenth century are dated, if dated at all, by a year beginning on December 25. The Jubilee Year was from what we call December 25, 1349, to December 24, 1350. The foundation was in the sixth year of Bateman's episcopate, which further fixes it in 1350 by our reckoning. Warren in his MS. book on Trinity Hall adds gratuitously to the deed, 'in the twenty-fourth year of Edward III.' It is not in the original. January 15, 1350, was in the twenty-third year of Edward III. But the King confirmed the foundation in his twenty-fourth year, on November 20, 1350.

creation of a University, the corporation which by its degrees was recognised throughout Europe, was the work of the Emperor or of a King, and needed the additional sanction of the Pope.* The College was sufficiently established by the assent of the Bishop of the diocese in which it lay, and by the royal license to hold property. A Master, twenty Fellows, and certain scholars, were what Bateman had originally intended to establish. There was no College of so many members yet in existence in Cambridge. The members were to say a prescribed office, *De Trinitate*, on rising and on going to bed, were always to speak Latin, were to dispute three times a week—on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays—on some point of Canon or of Civil Law, and were to listen to the Holy Scriptures read aloud to them during meals. Seven of the Fellows were always to be Canonists, and ten at least Civilians. All the Fellows would as a matter of course be in Orders of some kind, or intending to proceed to Orders. They need not all have been priests. Only the Canonists were to proceed through all the Holy Orders to the priesthood (*ad omnes sacros ordines se faciat promoveri et post susceptum sacerdotium*, etc.) within a year of admission as Fellows. Whereby it is clear that they were in orders already, for they could not canonically become priests from laymen in a year. There is one notable

* John XXII., Bateman's patron, probably first gave this stamp of international recognition to Cambridge in 1317-18. The Bull is quoted by Dyer, vol. i., p. 410. It mentions previous Bulls, but Cambridge is not mentioned among European Universities in 1311. The Bull of Nicholas V., founding Glasgow University, expressly states the necessity of Papal sanction for the establishment of a University. See Malden, *Origin of Universities*, p. 21.

point in the Bishop's regulations. Though they were to remember the Founder, his kindred, predecessors, and successors, no one of the Fellows was to accept an endowment for the saying of Masses in perpetuity for any other particular person.* The multiplication of such endowments, for chantry priests, was one of the growing evils of the Church in those days. Few or none might deny the efficacy of the Masses. Many recognised the practical mischief of the creation of a class of priests with sufficient to maintain them in idleness and independence, and the resulting degradation of the sacrifice. Yet Bateman provided for his own *obit*, and the University ordained three Masses annually for his soul, on the eve of the Conversion of St. Paul, on the octave of Trinity Sunday, and on the first Friday in Advent.

What immediately strikes the reader, with the modern conception of a College in his mind, is the absence of any provision for, or notice of, what we call the ordinary undergraduate. Other people not on the foundation might be admitted to live with the Fellows by their unanimous consent, and might only remain while the consent was unanimous. But these Fellow Commoners, of whom we shall find many instances, were not young students. Besides Scholars living on the foundation, there might be Pensioners, but the College of those days was a society of learned men, pursuing certain definite studies, and of youths for whom provision was made that they might follow out

* 'Recipiendi tamen pecuniam, per modum annualis servitii, vel alio quovis modo, ad celebrandum pro animabus aliis, eorum cuilibet interdicimus facultatem' (*Founder's Statutes*, c. viii.).

the same course. The object of the foundation was to train up the Scholars and Fellows, as a body of men with means and leisure to study the Canon and the Civil Law, who might be available to supply fit persons to fill offices in the Church and, as things then were, in the State, especially in the foreign department. They would serve as a nucleus of scholars in the University for the study of their especial sciences, and would encourage their pursuit, but were by no means intended to be the directors of a superior school for young men.

The clause in the foundation instrument that it was 'for the advantage, rule and direction of the commonwealth' that the College was established is singular. It emphasizes the importance attached by the diplomatic Bishop to the practical side of his legal studies. The difference of the points of view of Bishop Bateman and of Roger Bacon concerning the kind of studies which should be pursued in a University was fundamental. The difference may be said to have existed between two schools ever since. The school represented by Bateman, encouraging the pursuit of studies which will 'pay,' may be said to be now in the ascendant more and more—dangerously so.

Roger Bacon had complained of men studying Civil and Canon Law because they were profitable, and neglecting theology and philosophy. The latter as then understood was no great loss. Bateman's object, to train up a clergy who should be 'men of affairs,' will be appreciated by all who have had to do with a clergy who are not. The training of a school of politicians and diplomatists was a great idea. Really great politicians are not manufactured by any College, but

much useful work has been done by men trained by Bateman's foundation.*

* If we may believe a mediæval satirist, there was room in most Universities for an improvement in the teaching of the Civil Law. The following lines are quoted by *Mendo de Jure Academico*, quæst. xv. 366, as addressed to Doctors:

'In Institutis comparo vos brutis;
In Digestis nihil potestis;
In Codice scitis modice;
In Novellis comparamini asellis;
Et tamen creamini Doctores.
O tempora! O mores!'

CHAPTER II

THE SITE AND FOUNDATION

THE foundation of the *Collegium* preceded the building of their house. A home of some kind was, of course, immediately desirable; but a corporation can exist independently of any local habitation. That a house should be sought for them in Cambridge, and that they should be part of the greater corporation, to which the Bishop belonged as a Doctor, was part of his scheme.

How or why the neighbourhood of the castle on the brink of the fens had become the site of a school for students, who had been incorporated as a University, is a little obscure, and a little beside the subject of the history of one particular College, but nevertheless claims a short notice.

The Roman station of Camboritum had been fixed where the Via Devana, going from south-east to north-west, crossed the river by a ford, and on the further, the north-western, bank was intersected by the Akeman Street, running from north-east to south-west. Probably a British fortress had already crowned the higher land which here abuts upon the river, for

Camboritum seems to be compounded with the Celtic *rhyd*, a ford, and may mean 'the ford at the bend,' for the river turns sharply from a northerly to an easterly direction.* It was not the ford of the Cam, for this name of the river does not appear to be ancient. The oldest mention of the river by name is in Henry of Huntingdon, under the year 1130, when it is called the Grenta. The town is Grantebrycge and Grantanbrycge in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Grantebrige in Domesday, implying the same name for the river. Later the stream is constantly mentioned as le Ee and le Ree, and merely as *aqua currens*, which is the Latin for Ree probably, while le Ee is simply the Anglo-Saxon *ea*, water. When Trinity Hall acquired land down to the river in 1350, it was bounded by the 'common bank called Cante'; the actual description dates from 1372.† Grantebrige had become Cantebrigge in the fourteenth century, in Chaucer's Reeve's Tale, for instance, and was Latinized as Cantebrigia, and Anglicized as Cambridge. Camden, 1586, calls the river Camus, apparently for the first time, probably from a mistaken etymology of Cambridge. Milton perpetuated the error in *Lycidas*, and the Cam remains as the name of a river whose fame, like that of the Ilissus or the Scamander, is not to be measured by the volume of its waters.

But it was not in the precincts of the ancient Camboritum that the scholars of the fourteenth century found a home. As nearly always happened, the con-

* Traces of the ford were found in 1754 in a pavement of pebbles in the river (Willis and Clark, Introduction, p. vii).

† Deed of assurance from John de Brunne, preserved in Trinity Hall. *Vide infra.*

quering English tribes had been averse from settling within the walls of fortified Roman towns. Even if the entrenchments on the left bank of the river round the castle hill were not completely deserted, a new settlement had grown up on the right bank, between the Via Devana and the river. It is significant that the ancient East Anglian saint, St. Botolph, has a church, with next to him St. Benedict commemorated in a church the fabric of which is pre-Norman, and next to him the royal saint, Edward the Martyr,* all in a group together at the southern end of mediæval Cambridge. Here was probably the Anglo-Saxon settlement. An Anglo-Saxon King may have restored the fortifications on the left bank. When Edward son of Alfred 'timbered burhs'—that is, built castles—against the Danes, he may have repaired, or even raised, the mound at Cambridge. He subdued the neighbourhood in 921.† Or the Danes may have fortified it as a protection to the ships in which they had come up on the tide, over the drowned flats, and by the tortuous waterways of the Fens. At all events, the site was inhabited when the Norman Conqueror pulled down twenty-seven houses there to enlarge the castle.‡ But the settlement on the right bank of the river was growing; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there implies buildings of the eleventh or early twelfth century, and it was here that the religious houses

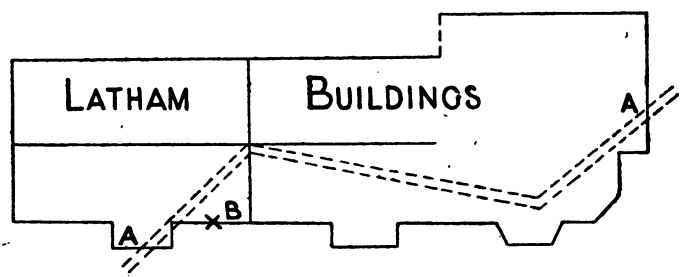
* It is the Church of St. Edward, King and Martyr, not St. Edward the Confessor. John Wright, Master of Trinity Hall '1505-12, calls it St. Edward the Martyr (Trinity Hall Library, *Book with Green Strings*, p. 112).

† Anglo-Saxon Chron., anno 921.

‡ Of the churches there, St. Peter's may be of any age; St. Giles's was a Norman foundation.

were founded and that the scholars lodged and studied.

Though the Roman roads existed as passable means of communication with the outer world, the river was the great highway. Twice in the twenty-four hours the tide came stealing in from the German Ocean, filling the channels which encircled the Isle of Ely, and the other islands and promontories which stood out above the waste of swamps and waters, and carrying traders by easy stages up from Lynn to the very neighbourhood of Cambridge. It seems that there was a



AA. Foundations of old wall. B. Spot where skeleton was found.

time when the tide found its way even to the sites of the present Colleges. The 'Backs of the Colleges' are now some 25 feet above mean sea-level. The growth of peat and the accumulation of alluvium would tend to raise the level of the ground; but if no locks below intervened, a spring-tide and a north-east gale might turn the stream of the Cam backward now below the Trinity Hall gardens.

When the last additions were made to the buildings of Trinity Hall in 1889, the excavations revealed the foundations of an old wall, which from its zigzag direction appeared to be a retaining wall along the

bank of a watercourse. At the foot of this, in what was no doubt a ditch or creek, were found the remains of the skeleton of a woman on the top of the gault, below 10 feet of peat and alluvium. Opposite and close to each foot were the decayed ends of two stakes, which had been driven deep into the gault, so as to nearly meet each other below the surface. The upper ends above the gault had nearly perished. 'That the feet of the body had been tied to these stakes no one seeing it could doubt for a moment.'* There was a natural and undisturbed deposit above the body, indicating a very distant date for its being placed there. Professor Middleton also pointed out that the teeth were worn away in a manner caused by the grit mixed with flour ground in a friable stone mortar. Primitive Celtic and earlier skulls have teeth so worn. She had been tied down, probably, to be drowned by the tide rising up the water-course.

But long after the days of the primitive society which so guarded its morality, the townsmen of Cambridge depended for their supply of peat, rushes, and faggots, of sea-coal too later, of fish and fowl and of much besides, upon the river-borne traffic. The building stone for the Colleges, and for all else built of stone, necessarily came this way. Stone could never be conveyed far by land carriage only in the Middle Ages. The comparatively inland settlement near the Via Devana spread down towards the river. A parish church, St. John Zachary's—that is, St. John the Baptist's—served the riverside district. Lanes ran down to the hithes, or landing-places, on the banks, and a main street,

* Description printed at the time for preservation with the bones in the Master's Lodge.

Milne Street, ran through from where Trinity College is now, with a communication of course to the bridge which had replaced the ford, up to the mills which closed the navigation below Coe Fen. Milne Street must have come through Trinity Great Court, where its lower end was called Foul Lane, past where Caius College is on the one side, and Trinity Hall and Clare on the other, through King's, and between St. Catherine's and Queens' Colleges. The two parts of it still in use opposite Trinity Hall and Queens' are Trinity Hall Lane and Queens' Lane respectively. The passages down to the river ran from it, sometimes across it, and it was bordered by many small houses, with some larger houses and open ground, gardens and waste, between them. Here Bateman sought a home for his new *Collegium*. The modern Hall man must conceive of the familiar site with the following altered features:* Between Trinity College and the north side of the buildings of the chief court of Trinity Hall was a piece of open land called Hennably, belonging to the town. A strip along its north side belonged to Michael House later. Through the middle of what is now Caius College, across Milne Street, and down the verge of where the northern buildings of Trinity Hall now are, between the Tutor's House and the College, ran a lane called Henney Lane. It led down to the river, perhaps

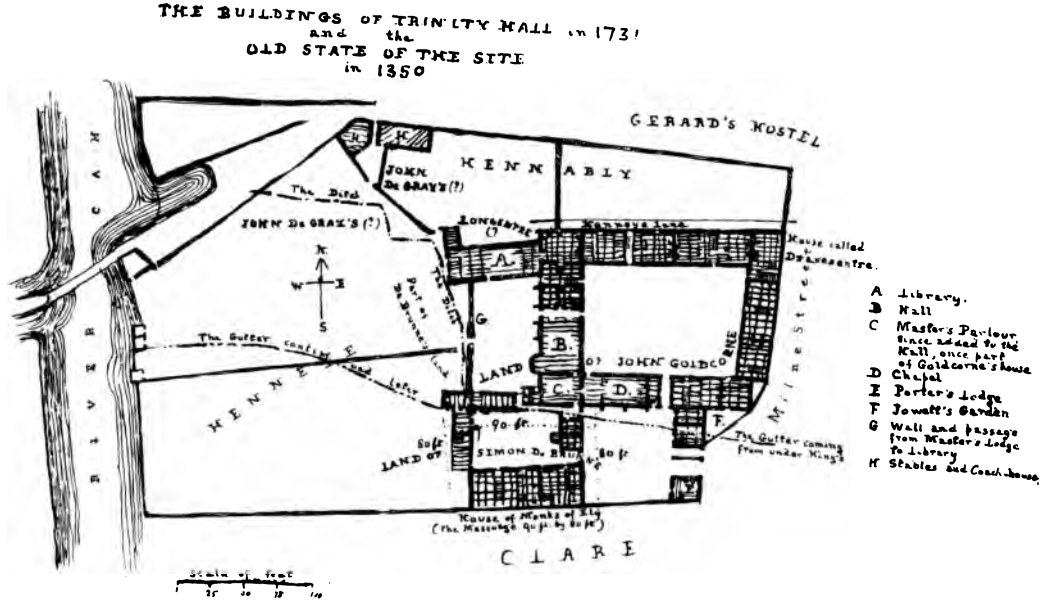
* In common with all others who deal with such subjects, I am under the deepest obligations to Messrs. Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* for my description of the site. Only in the matter of the watercourses I should venture to differ slightly from their view, and in the exact limit of the property bounded by one watercourse. Two ancient features of the buildings, the door and window near the south-east corner of the present hall, had not been discovered when Dr. Clark wrote.

to a bridge across it. Certainly it would give access to a wharf called Flax Hithe, which lay a little to the north of the end of it, upon the river or a branch of the river, in what is now the ground of Trinity College. The river has since been artificially straightened. It then curved a little to the westward, opposite where Garret Hostel Lane* now abuts upon it, and a branch left it on the east from about the corner of Trinity Hall gardens and re-entered the river a little lower down, so as to form an island. This backwater is 'derived oute of ye kynges ryver called ye comen water and streme of Cambridge.'† Into this backwater came, from a generally southern direction, another ditch, under the new buildings of Trinity Hall where the 'drowned skeleton' was found. This ditch is the 'common ditch' of 1350. It ran from about south-south-east to north-north-west. A gutter came into it from the east, at right angles about, under the north side of the old Porter's Court.

At the corner of Henney Lane, on the south side, where the north-east angle of the chief court now is, was a house called 'Draxesentre,' from a former owner, John Drax. The ground attached to it ran down the side of Henney Lane towards the watercourse. It reached therefore to near the end of the present library. South of this was the messuage of John Goldcorne, a

* Correctly, no doubt, Gerard's Hostel, from one of the hostels absorbed into Trinity College; but Garret Hostel is established by usage.

† Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, Site No. 14. This is from a deed of 1545. This 'kynges ryver' is obviously the Cam, then nameless, as is so commonly the case, except as the 'river' or the 'water.' It can have nothing to do with the 'King's ditch' on the other side of the town, and is scarcely the backwater itself, also called 'King's ditch.'



PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS, 1731, SHOWING THE STATE OF THE SITE IN 1350

house and land, covering most of the chief court, the butteries, the Hall, and part of the Library Court. South of this was the land of Simon de Brunne,* in the occupation of the monks of Ely, covering part of the smaller court, most of the Master's Lodge with the new Combination-Room, and some ground about it. It was divided from John Goldcorne's land by the gutter 'lying between the tenement formerly of John Goldcorne on the north side, and the tenement formerly of Simon de Brunne on the south.'† Simon de Brunne also owned 'Henneye,' which was land about answering to the present Fellows' garden. But Simon's land also ran up northward to the west of John Goldcorne's, for in 1350 the College acquired the common ditch 'from the end of that gutter unto the tenement formerly of John de Gray, and lying between the tenement of Simon de Brunne on the west, and the tenement formerly of John Goldcorne and the tenement called Longentre on the east.' This reveals two other holdings, or houses, John de Gray's on the west side of the ditch in the present garden, near the gate into Garret Hostel Lane, and Longentre, probably by its name at the lower end of Henney Lane, near the north-west corner of the Library. John Goldcorne's holding was the first acquired by the College. On February 23, 1349-50, the King granted license to the 'Custos, Fellows, and Scholars of the Holy Trinity to acquire houses, hostels, and a place of sufficient extent to dwell in.'‡ They had, as likely as not, already been put in possession of John Gold-

* What relation of Nicholas de Brunne, Master of Clare 1359-1371? An enterprising Master should have secured this family land for Clare.

† Borough Report, vii. 6, quoted by Willis and Clark.

‡ Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, Site No. 3.

corne's house. It was described as 'formerly John Goldcorne's' on November 6 of the same year, when the purchase of Simon de Brunne's land was being completed. Though as yet the College consisted only of the Custos, three Fellows, and three Scholars, the scheme demanded more space, and they acquired it in Simon de Brunne's land. This was in the occupation of the monks of Ely. John de Crawden, Prior of Ely, 1321-1341, had bought a house for the accommodation of those monks of Ely who wished to resort to Cambridge for study. It was held of Simon de Brunne by the service of sixpence a year. Bateman appropriated to the Church of Ely the living of Sudborne in Suffolk, and further paid the large sum of £300 for the land and house. The house was at the south-west angle of the present College buildings, now occupied by part of the Master's Lodge and its surroundings, next to Clare. The building is shown in Loggan's view of 1688. Warren calls it 'the old building for the monks where the Pidgeon house is.' Loggan shows the 'Pidgeons' circling round the top. It was partly destroyed in 1823, and nearly entirely removed in 1852. A small piece of very ancient wall in the Master's dustbins, next to Clare, represents all that remains now. In 1852, however, there was a small round-headed window looking west, which was taken down by Salvin when altering the Lodge. The present Master obtained an assurance from him that it would be replaced, but the stones were mislaid. The original conveyance is lost; but in the Trinity Hall Treasury Documents is a deed executed by John de Brunne, grandson to Simon, in 1372, confirming the conveyance. John very explicitly gives up all right in the land. It is described as,

'a messuage with Heneye lying in the parish of St. John Baptist in Milnestrete, between the messuage of the Scholars of Clare Hall on the one side, and the messuage of the Scholars of the Hall of the Holy Trinity on the other; one head abutting on the King's highway of Milnestrete, and the other on the common bank called Cante, which messuage with Heneye formerly belonged to Simon de Brunne my grandfather.'*

The Hall of the Scholars of the Holy Trinity was clearly originally north of this land. The Patent Rolls of Edward III.† show that the land was being acquired on October 4, 1350. A license in mortmain for the acquisition is dated November 20, 1350.‡ The dimensions of the messuage, but not of the land, were 9 perches in length by 8 perches in breadth. Mediæval measurements were something like mediæval statistics, though there is not the same scope for luxuriance of imagination in the smaller figures. But the more usual English perch was 10 feet, not 5½ yards.§ The dimensions would be roughly the length of the building called 'the old building of the Monks of Ely,' in the Trinity Hall plan of 1731 in the Library, and the breadth is that of the ground from the boundary of Clare to the present south end of the Hall, which was the old Master's Lodge. Here, underground, still runs the ditch which divided

* Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, Site No. 10. The land is surrendered 'custodi et collegio scholarium aulæ Sanctæ Trinitatis.'

† Borough Rate Report, vii. 3, quoted by Willis and Clark.

‡ P. R., 24 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 1 and 5.

§ See Dufresne, *Glossarium*, *sub voce* 'Pertica,' and Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. i., p. 313. But the Pertica was sometimes 15, 17½ or 20 feet. If it was 17½, the whole of the chief court would be included in the length of 9 perches. But that it was 10 is borne out by the position of the ditch or gutter.

the tenement of John Goldcorne from the tenement of Simon de Brunne. High up in the east wall of the Hall, at the south end, the last alterations in 1889-90 revealed a small window, which has every appearance of being older than 1350, round-headed, very narrow on the outside, and much wider inside. Below is a door which has been probably altered or made at a date later than the window, with a pointed arch. Both door and window were blocked up by the building of the Chapel and antechapel, and rooms over the latter. They probably belonged to John Goldcorne's house, as it was when occupied by the College before the acquisition of the messuage of the monks of Ely. The monks had access to Milne Street, but there may have been land between them and Milne Street unaccounted for. Henneye certainly is not included in the measurements of their site, even if we stretch the perch to its present length of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards. Henneye was by its name an 'eyot' originally, more or less of a swamp before the river was embanked. The 'common bank called Cante' was probably the first attempt to keep out the water. Some of the northern garden, which seems unaccounted for in earlier mentions of the site, was still probably too wet to be of much account.

The College acquired its own well by the purchase of De Brunne's land. The monks of Ely had one close to their house. It was in the middle of what was the Master's Court, under the new Combination-Room. The water was highly thought of down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when an unlucky confidence in its excellence prompted its submission to analysis, with the usual result of vindicating, not the water, but

the natural immunity from typhoid and cholera enjoyed by our ancestors.

Four years later than this purchase the College acquired 'Draxesentre.' At the same date, September 26, 1354, letters patent confirmed their acquisition of seven pieces of ground in the parish of St. John the Baptist, two measuring together 190 feet by 75 feet, from the Hospital of St. John; two measuring 78 feet by 50 feet, from Bartholomew Morris; three measuring 245 feet by 80 feet, from the Guild of Corpus Christi and St. Mary.* The two former portions have been identified with the land across Milne Street, where a garden existed, and where the old court of King's was built, and with another piece of land further south, now in the court of King's.† Henry VI. acquired them from Trinity Hall when he first projected King's College.

The schools of Canon and of Civil Law of a later time stood conveniently just beyond this garden. These law schools were built *circa* 1458, but there must have been some law schools before, as there was public teaching of the subject, on perhaps the same site. The lands acquired from the Guild of Corpus Christi have not been identified; they may have been Longentre and John de Gray's messuage, mentioned above, on either side of the ditch near the west end of Henney Lane, with the ground running from them through the present garden to the river. The dimensions would roughly correspond, and some of this ground is otherwise unaccounted for. They may also have been near the site of the old Porter's Lodge. Within five years,

* Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, Site Nos. 5, 6, 7.

† Willis and Clark, vol. i., p. 212.

therefore, of the foundation the College was in possession of its present site, with the exception of a strip to the north, Hennably, and some land down the side of the present Garret Hostel Lane, and it had besides land to the east of Milne Street, since alienated to King's. All the remainder, covering the sites of the present Tutor's House, the garden behind it, the present kitchens, the neighbouring offices, and land beyond down to the river, was not acquired till the sixteenth century. But there was already ample space for the College buildings, which Bateman projected upon a scale to suit his foundation. Taking Goldcorne's house, a probably existing building, as his starting-point on the south-west, he planned a court, 115 feet by 80 feet —that is, larger than any then existing College court in Cambridge—and probably proceeded to build chambers along its east side, next to Milne Street.* This did not, however, comprise his whole design. There was an entrance court to the south, in which stood the old building of the monks of Ely, where the College chiefly lodged no doubt before the new buildings were ready, and there was abundant ground behind for another court towards the river.

The arrangement of the entrance court was after the fashion of monastic buildings rather than of a private house. This small court, the 'Porter's Court,' as it was called, or 'the Court before the Master's Lodge,' was no doubt built or building in Bateman's lifetime. But fate interposed to hinder his designs half wrought. He died at Avignon, January 6, 1354-55, while engaged in negotiations for peace between England

* See below. Here, or at the old Porter's Lodge, was the earliest new College building.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE OLD GATEWAY *in situ*

and France by the mediation of the Pope. His death was ascribed to poison.* Avignon was wicked enough to make the report plausible, but every premature or sudden death was attributed to poison. He left his foundation incomplete, with a Custos, three Fellows, and three Scholars. He had, however, done much, and prepared much for its establishment in his lifetime, and further had made provision for it in his will.

In February of the year of foundation the Bishop had granted the revenues of the rectory of Blofield in Norfolk, which he held by a Papal Bull *in commendam* for his own table, to be paid for nine years towards the endowment and building of the College, and for another nine years if the first nine were not sufficient. On May 3, 1350, the King gave license for the grant of the advowsons of Kimberley and Bristow in Norfolk to the College.† On October 15 of the same year the rectory of Burningham in Norfolk was appropriated to the College by the gift of the Bishop.‡ The rectory of Wood Dalling, Norfolk, was granted by the Prior and house of Binham in Norfolk, March, 1350-51 ;§ the rectory of Stalham, Norfolk, by the Abbey of Hulme, 1351 ;‖ the rectory of Cowlinge, in Suffolk, by John and Thomas de Shardelowe, in January, 1351-52.¶ Cowlinge was held of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and Swannington was originally given by him. He died

* Warren, Appendix xliii., from the *Vita et Mors.*

† Pat. R., 24 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 15.

‡ Pat. R., 24 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 1 and 5. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, says that this same roll includes a grant of Trinity Church, Cambridge. This is a mistake ; there is nothing about it.

§ Pat. R., 25 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 14 ; and see Plac. coram Rege apud West., 48 Edw. III., pro garbis apud Wood Dalling.

‖ Pat. R., 25 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 16.

¶ Pat. R., 25 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 5.

in 1361. He was a companion of Bishop Bateman on diplomatic business. The grant of Swannington, Norfolk, was confirmed in 1362.* Endowment by means of rectories was of course usual, though liable to be mischievous. Vicarages were created to serve the parishes, and remotely the encouragement of a learned clergy might react beneficially upon the diocese. It was less harmful, at all events, than the endowment of monasteries by the same means. Bateman also appropriated the rectory of Higham Potter, Norfolk, to the Benedictine Abbey of Hulme, for the support of two of the monks as students of Canon Law at Cambridge. They would presumably live and study in his Hall. It was a close scholarship in fact.

The Bishop had not spared of his own; he had spent freely on the College, and it was not his only foundation in Cambridge. He had established one of the chests, for £100, whence Masters could borrow up to £4 value, and other students lesser sums. Chests were an ingenious and useful method of helping poor scholars, who borrowed without interest, leaving a pledge which was sold for the benefit of the chest if the loan were not repaid. At the same time he was also carrying through the completion of his friend Gonville's foundation. He brought the Hall of the Annunciation down to the neighbourhood of his own College, establishing it upon the opposite side of Milne Street, and caused to be drawn up a perpetual league of amity and mutual support between the two foundations, on St. Lambert the Martyr's day, September 17, 1353. It was in the form of an indenture, sealed by the two Colleges. It

* Pat. R., 36 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 15.

is nearly as long as a solemn league between sovereign Princes, but part of it runs:

'Testatur quod dicti Custodes et Collegia ac omnes et singuli Socii utriusque Collegii et Aulæ, pro se et successoribus suis in perpetuum, cum consensu et assensu Reverendi Patris et Domini Domini Willielmi Dei gratia Episcopi Norwicensis utriusque Aulæ et Collegii Fundatoris, convenerunt et consenserunt expresse, quod omnes et singuli dictarum Aularum Socii et eorum successores in perpetuum tanquam fratres amicissimi, ex uno fundationis stipite prodeuntes, invicem se diligent et amicabiliter mutuo se tractabunt, ac in omnibus et singulis eorundem necessitatibus et agendis, cum requisiti fuerint, fideliter per omnes vias honestas et licitas invicem et mutuo se iuvabunt,' etc.*

That is, briefly, in English, they undertook to consult together on weighty matters, to go together in procession to University Masses and sermons, and other public acts. 'Proviso tamen quod Custos et Socii Aulæ Sanctæ Trinitatis, tanquam fratres primogeniti et præstantiores honore Custodi et Sociis Aulæ Annunciationis prædictæ, in omnibus prædictis actibus publicis preferantur.' The league had, in fact, fallen into abeyance, before it was abrogated by a change of statutes. Had it continued, we should now see the two societies, clad 'robis seu ad minus epitogiis talaribus'—that is, in 'long frocks'—going in procession to the University sermon, Caius falling in to the rear of Trinity Hall. The league with the Hall of the Annunciation was embodied in the additional statutes of the Founder. The society continued to be governed by his rule till the new statutes of 1860 were

* The whole is in the Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, and is copied in Warren's Book, Appendix xli.

passed, which were in turn superseded by those of 1882, framed under the Universities Act of 1877. By the original constitution, as we have said, there were to be twenty-one Fellows, of whom one was to be Custos. Ten at least were to be civilians, seven at least canonists, and not more than thirteen were to be the former nor more than ten the latter. In the case of a vacancy among the *legistæ*, a Bachelor or Student of Civil Law was to be elected, or a Bachelor or Master of Arts, provided he were *famosus* and ready to proceed in the faculty of Civil Law. For a vacancy among the *canonistæ*, if the number had fallen below the necessary seven, a civilian Fellow was to have the first place in election, provided he were willing to become a canonist and a priest: 'si quis eorum ad audienda iura canonica, et ad gradum presbyteri voluerit transmigrare.' If none were willing, then a Bachelor or Student of Canon or Civil Law of Cambridge or any other University, or a Bachelor or Master of Arts, willing to proceed within a year in Canon Law, might be elected. If the number of canonists had not fallen below seven, a *legista* or *canonista* might be chosen at the will of the society. By the stipulation that the *legistæ*, if they became *canonistæ*, were to take priests' Orders, it would seem that they were expected to be in Orders already, of some kind.* *Cæteris paribus*, preference in elections, as Custos or Fellow, was to be shown to Fellows of the Hall of the Annunciation, to scholars of the Diocese of Norwich, to poor men and to non-beneficed clergy. No holder of a benefice with cure of souls of any value, nor of a sinecure or rural deanery

* If laymen before, we should have expected *ordinari et ad gradum presbyteri*, etc., for men did not become priests, as a rule, till after they had been ordained a certain time. See above, Chapter I., p. 16.

of more than 6 marks' annual value, was to be eligible. The Fellow, once elected, was more completely identified with the society than the more independent and individualist spirit of our age allows. He was to proceed to a Doctor's degree when the society thought him fit, or when the public opinion of the University, the greater society, judged him worthy.* The Inceptor in theology or in either law had his expenses up to 100 shillings defrayed by the College, provided that one only should proceed in each faculty in one year from the College. The *canonistæ*, who were to become priests in a year from election, were to perfect themselves in the services, and in their Masses were to make special commemoration of the founder, his father and mother, his predecessors and successors. They were exhorted so to live as to be worthy to communicate themselves daily, and all the Fellows were enjoined to hear one Mass every day, saving lawful impediment, and on Sundays to hear together the Mass *de Trinitate*, either in their parish church or in chapel. The restrictions upon the election of beneficed men to Fellowships were relaxed in the case of Fellows receiving benefices after election. A Fellow might remain in the College holding a rural deanery or sinecure up to 10 marks' annual value, or if a Doctor up to £10. But in the case of office or benefice with cure of souls being obtained, or sinecures above the value stated, the Fellows so beneficed could not remain above a year, 'postquam talia pacifice obtinuerint.' The clause gives us a glimpse of the marvellous litigiousness of the Middle Ages, which had one of its fairest fields in ecclesiastical appointments made under

* 'Idonei maioris partis sociorum iudicio, aut in Universitate illa communiter reputentur' (*Bateman's Statutes*, cap. vi.).

the jealous and conflicting control of the Papacy, the Bishops, the King and private patrons. Only the Master might continue with any benefice or office he chose. The Fellows were not to degenerate into the typical idle Don of former radical imagination, or sometimes of fact. If any became incapable of continuing their studies for the honour of the College, or of proceeding to the degree of Doctor, they were to be expelled, and others, 'habiles ad proficiendum,' elected in their room. Only the priests were irremovable for this cause. Only extreme infirmity, in fact, such as would make expulsion a cruelty, would disable a priest from saying Mass. Even the Master was removable for incapacity on the motion of two-thirds of the College. They were in such a case to invite him to retire voluntarily, when, if he recovered his capacity, he might remain as an ordinary Fellow, subject to the conditions of that position. If he refused the invitation, two-thirds of the College could petition the Chancellor of the University, who would then decide the case with the assistance of two Rectors and two Doctors Regent of the University. An additional statute of 1354 directed the election of two or three Scholars *de minori forma*, students of Civil or Canon Law, who were to minister to the priests celebrating in the chapel, and wait upon the Fellows, chapel clerks and Sizars in fact. They were, if according to the former statutes they were *idonei moribus et ingenio*, to have the preference over all others in election to Fellowships—*omnibus aliis præferantur*. The words became famous in a noted case in the eighteenth century, Francis Wrangham's.

Though the life was in common, and supported upon

the expenses of the foundation, yet the Fellows were furnished with the means of making their individual contributions to the common stock. The Master was to have 10 marks a year for his robe, furs, and commons, a Doctor or any Priest-Fellow 8 marks, another Fellow 7 marks, a Fellow not yet even a Bachelor of Laws 6 marks. At Christmas and Easter every Fellow was to receive 12 pence, on Trinity Sunday 2 shillings. Cloth also and furs were to be distributed, with commons, at fixed prices by the College. Each of the Fellows took over the house-keeping, weekly. There were to be five servants: a *dispensator*, or steward, a baker who understood brewing, a cook, and assistants to the two latter. The former three received a coat and 10 shillings a year, the two assistants a coat and 5 shillings. The servants were all *iurati*, not mere hirelings. Private servants were allowed, only such servant was to be 'pacificus, castus, humilis et quietus.' The probability is clearly contemplated of some of the Fellows being possessors of private property and able to pay for a servant, while others, poor scholars, were entirely dependent upon the College. The names of Fellows were to be reported yearly to the Bishop and Chapter of Norwich. If the foundation was augmented, Fellowships for *legistæ* and *canonistæ* were to be established in turn. Twice a year, at Michaelmas and Easter, the statutes were to be read aloud to the College.

The care of the Founder for the books of his College was as minute as for the persons. The books with which he furnished them, or with which they might be furnished hereafter, were not to be alienated under any pretence. The tendency of books to stray was clearly to be guarded against then as now, and no books were

to be carried outside of the town of Cambridge, nor outside the Hall, except to the schools; and they were never to be allowed a night out ('ita tamen quod nullus liber pernoctet extra'), except in cases of necessary rebinding and repairs. A library was to be appointed, where the books of the Doctors of both the laws were to be bound with iron chains. The oldest library recorded was the room east of the chapel, over the communication from one court to the other. Perhaps this was not built till 1374 or later.

The books are enumerated in two classes, those which the College has already by gift of the Founder, and those which he has left to them in his will, but retained for his lifetime. The library was probably extremely well furnished for the time. They had given to them immediately four complete copies of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* in five volumes each, 'a very beautiful and perfect' Book of the Decretals, with glosses, several parts or copies of the Clementines, a small Bible, and a Compendium of the Bible. In all they had twenty-three volumes on civil law, twenty on canon law, three on theology, including two Bibles, and seven service-books besides. A great many more books, seven volumes on civil law, fourteen on canon law, twenty-five on theology, including works of St. Augustine, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas, the *Liber Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, Eusebius' Chronicles, the Epistles of St. Paul with glosses, and a life of Thomas à Becket, and eight more service-books, were left to the College at the Bishop's death. Bateman also gave vestments and ornaments for the Chapel which was to be. They are headed by 'unum vestimentum antiquum debile;' but there were also two new copes for the high altar,

and two for daily use at the two side-altars. It is taken for granted that there are to be three altars in the small space set aside for the Chapel. There were probably at least three in the parish church of St. John's. The Chapel at Bateman's death was to receive ornaments which must have made it very different from the 'elegant room' to which eighteenth-century taste reduced it. Blue samite hangings with gold stars and an altar-cloth of red samite worked with gold figures of the Crucifixion, of the Virgin, and of the Apostles; a silver-gilt cross; four silver candlesticks; two silver reliquaries with relics; two silver dishes for holy water; an embossed silver-gilt chalice; two silver pitchers for wine and water, for use in the daily Mass; another silver-gilt chalice, beautiful and embossed; two other silver pitchers for wine and water, beautiful and well gilt; a silver stand for the pyx, embossed with figures of the Crucifixion, St. Mary, and St. John; a silver-gilt thurible; a silver-gilt incense-boat, with a silver shell; a silver vase for holy water, with a silver sprinkler; a silver bell; a great pyx of ivory. We are scarcely able to believe that Bateman provided all these without knowing that a Chapel was actually planned to receive them. What would not the College antiquaries give to know where they could find them now?

The Exemplar Statutorum still exists in the College Treasury, with three seals attached. On the dexter side is that of William Bateman, a full-length figure of the Bishop in act of benediction. Below him is his shield charged with a crescent ermine within a bordure engrailed, but with no tincture shown on the field or the bordure. Above him is the symbolic representation of the Holy Trinity. This seal is very fairly preserved.

In the centre is the seal of Simon Islip the Archbishop, a Bishop in act of benediction, with a pastoral staff in his left hand. On his right side are the arms of France and England quarterly, on his left a cross fitchée between two pastoral staves, surmounted by a pall, at his feet a cross. This seal is not in such good condition as the first. On the sinister side, in the worst state of repair of all, is the seal of the Chancellor of the University, a man in academic habit supported by two others, all broken off at the waist, and only the words *sigillum cantabrigie* remaining round the edge.

CHAPTER III

EARLY DAYS AND BENEFACTORS

Robert de Stretton was the first Custos or Master. Bateman had instituted him to the rectory of Blofield, which he had set aside for the support of the College, with an allowance from its revenue. It illustrates the scale of living of the Master of a College that he was given the option of board, residence and clothing in College, as a Fellow, with 10 marks, £6 13s. 4d., a year, for nine years, or 20 marks a year, £13 6s. 8d., living where he chose. If he resided, his 10 marks a year for the first nine years were to be raised to £10 a year for the next nine. Provided that the living were served, residence in the parish was dispensed with. De Stretton was only Master till 1355. He was the earliest of the Trinity Hall Bishops, and was consecrated to the See of Coventry and Lichfield in 1360. The ordinary story about his elevation to the Episcopate is curious and difficult to reconcile with probabilities. Robert de Stretton, who was recommended to the bishopric in 1358 by Edward III., was a servant and favourite of the Black Prince; but his qualifications, whatever they were, are said not to have been such as fitted the Master of a College. The Pope, Innocent VI., was told from

England that he was too illiterate to be consecrated, and an examination held in England under the direction of Archbishop Islip confirmed the opinion. Nothing daunted, De Stretton went to Avignon, to offer himself for examination at headquarters, and was 'plucked' by the Pope in person, 'propter defectum literaturæ.' He had no better fortune at a third trial in England before the Archbishop. The King, however, refused to consent to any other candidate being chosen, and kept the temporalities of the see in his own hands. So at last, in 1360, De Stretton was 'allowed through,' and was consecrated. He made the profession of canonical obedience on the occasion 'alio professionem legente quod ipse legere non posset.'* That is taken to mean that he could not read Latin. There is something difficult to believe in the story as it stands. We are told that De Stretton was a Doctor of Laws of Cambridge, and that before consecration he had been Auditor of the Rota in the Papal Court—that is, one of a body of twelve judges who had to decide important questions of probate and inheritance, with whom John XXII. and Innocent VI. concerned themselves specially, to increase their efficiency. The Court of the Rota was the highest court of appeal in Christendom in probate cases. De Stretton as an Auditor must have been continually immersed in business conducted in Latin, and have lived in a society which talked Latin habitually. It is incredible that such a man could not read Latin, or that the Pope would not be aware of his deficiencies if he could not, without being told of it from England. Neither is it probable that mere com-

* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 449. He adds, 'verba sunt registri'; but they are not in Islip's Register, where the Profession is, nor can I hear of them anywhere else.

plaisance to the Prince of Wales would have given him a degree as Doctor. Bateman was himself a learned man, anxious for the efficiency of his College. He would not have made an ignoramus Master. A possible solution of the question is that Robert de Stretton, Master of Trinity Hall, was not the great prototype of all who have since been unfortunate in examinations there, but that his appointment was contested as involving the question of royal or Papal nomination to a see. The contest between England and Rome on the subject of Papal Provisions was raging violently. The Acts, Provisors of 1351 and Præmunire of 1353, had exasperated the Papacy, and gone beyond what many English ecclesiastics thought right in limiting Papal power. In 1357, the year before De Stretton's first rejection, the King and Pope had had a great quarrel over the introduction of Papal Bulls, and two Papal messengers had been put into Newgate, where they died.* De Stretton's election by the Chapter was in direct obedience to the King's orders, irrespective of Papal wishes. By adopting the excuse of his deficient learning, the Pope was enabled to give to Islip, and to those English Bishops who halted between their national and their ecclesiastical allegiance, a loophole for escape from too flagrant an act of opposition to the King. In 1361 the Pope insisted on an examination of William of Wykeham, a royal nominee to a prebend's stall at Bishops Auckland.† Wykeham declined to be ex-

* *History of the English Church*, W. W. Capes, edited by the Dean of Winchester and the Rev. W. Hunt, 1900, vol. iii., p. 93.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94. Similarly, when Walter of Ensham was elected to Canterbury on Langton's death in 1228, the King paid the Pope to get rid of him, and he was accordingly examined and 'plucked' in theology. See second volume of the same work by the Dean of Winchester, pp. 225, 226.

amined, obviously because he knew that it was intended to 'pluck' him. There was no real question of his learning. For the words of the Register there is another explanation forthcoming. In 1381 De Stretton was ordered to find a coadjutor in his see, because he was not only old, but blind. 'Hoc anno'—*sc.*, 1381, September 7—'sede Cantuaria tunc vacante capitulum Ecclesiæ Cantuariæ literis datis precepit ut infra decem dies coadjutorem sibi assumeret quppe qui senectute *et cæcitate officio episcopali obeundo impar iamdiu factus fuerat.*'* He had been blind a long time ('iamdiu'), and his sight may have prevented his reading in 1360. So perhaps the Pope and Islip were justified.

Robert de Stretton the Master was connected with another notable name among Trinity Hall men. The family called De Stretton, from their property, were really Eryks of Leicestershire. The name became Eryck, Heryck, and Herrick in course of time, and Robert Herrick the poet belonged to the family. De Stretton ceased to be Master in 1355. Adam Wickmer succeeded him. In his time considerable progress was made with the buildings.† This was by the aid of Simon of Sudbury, executor to Bateman, then Bishop of London and shortly afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor. An indenture was drawn up between Sudbury and John de Mildenhale, carpenter of Cambridge, date September 17, 48 Edward III.—that is, 1374—by which the carpenter

* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, vol. i., p. 449. I am indebted to Mr. A. R. Malden, of Salisbury, M.A., Trinity Hall, for the suggestion of De Stretton's blindness having begun to show itself in 1360.

† In De Stretton's time, or immediately after it, some steps were taken towards enlarging the buildings. There was royal license given in 1355 'pro elargendo' (Pat. R., 28 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 5).

is to find the oak timber required for the chambers which are to be built in the *mansum*, the dwelling-house, of the Scholars of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge, for the roof and floor-beams, for the partitions of the solars, or first-floor rooms, and of the celars, or ground-floor rooms, for the stairs and stair-trees. He is also to find oak timber for the buildings, including a reconstructed kitchen, which are to be erected from the north end of the College Hall northwards up to Henney Lane. The roof is to be similar to that of the said Hall, and he is to find floor-beams for the first-floor rooms and for partitions above and below. The timber-work is to be similar to that of the eastern chambers of the said *mansum*. The work was to be finished by about the next Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin—that is, August 15, 1375. Further, John de Mildenhale was to make doors both large and small, and large and small windows, and the floors of all the chambers, of the kitchen, and of the first-floor rooms. The offices on the ground-floor were no doubt tiled, except the kitchen which falls under the carpenter's contract. All these fittings were to be completed within four months of receiving notice for their execution by the College. The contractor was to be paid £50 at Michaelmas, no doubt for his immediate expenses in buying timber; £10 at Christmas; £10 at Easter; £10 on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; and £20 within fifteen days of the completion of the work—in all £100.* The immediate payment for materials, and the final payment deferred till the work was done, show the Bishop to have been a good business man. He was a builder

* Warren's Book, Appendix No. cvii. The original was lost before Warren's time. He got it from Baker.

elsewhere, at Canterbury, for instance, and was himself a Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, but was too old to have studied at Trinity Hall.

The indenture tells us a good deal about the early buildings. It shows that the Hall existed already. Probably it had existed before 1350.* The existence of a Hall implies a kitchen.† The indenture does not speak of the building of a new kitchen, only of a kitchen being rebuilt. Rooms were also to be built over the offices, so that Dr. Harvey's work in 1563 was renovation, not building *de novo* (*vide infra*). It also shows that the eastern range of chambers next to Milne Street existed. This had been probably built by Bateman, incorporating Draxesentre. Loggan's view represents the eastern side of the court as a separate building from the north and south sides. The separation was fortunate at the time of the fire in 1852. The new offices were clearly where the offices have been since, north of the Hall, with the old Combination-Room, now the anteroom to the Library, above them. The new chambers may have been in one of three places, either along the north side of the court, or on the south between the Chapel and the east side, or on the east of the old

* See above, p. 30. Had the whole court been laid out, irrespective of existing buildings, it would surely have been rectangular. As it is, the east and west sides are not parallel. The line of the former was determined by Milne Street; but why should not the west side have been parallel to it, unless its direction was fixed by a house already there? The west side is not at right angles to the boundary of Clare, nor to the wall of the old house of the monks of Ely, so that its want of parallelism with the east side is not determined by their positions.

† There was a kitchen in the old monks' building (Warren). Without his explicit statement of a kitchen chimney and an oven remaining in his time, we should assume it to have existed. But was there not also an existing kitchen to Goldcorne's house?

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE COLLEGE

Porter's Court. Just possibly they were in all three. A hundred pounds' worth of woodwork would go a long way in the fourteenth century. But the north side of the court is almost certainly to be included. There may have been buildings already where the old Porter's Lodge was, abutting on Milne Street next to Clare, when the site was acquired in 1350. A building there, with a Porter's Lodge, would be one of the first cares of the Founder, and this might be included in the existing buildings, as part of 'Camerarum orientalium habitacionis dicti mansi.' The old buildings, which existed here up to 1872, were certainly very ancient, but the floors were partly of sweet chestnut wood, not of the oak which John de Mildenhale was to use.* The old gateway might very well by style be as old as Bateman's time, and the probabilities point to this having been part of the first College buildings, whether adapted from existing buildings or not. Had the building on the south of the chief court been included in the 1374 contract, we should expect a reference to either the Chapel or to the intended site of the Chapel, as explaining its direction, and no such reference is made. The north side of the court remains as the principal range unaccounted for, and as most likely the part built in 1374. On the north of that building, where the hand of the eighteenth-century Vandals has fallen less heavily, there are traces of a fourteenth-century building.

* I incline to the belief that some sort of open court existed between the monks' house and Milne Street, and that Bateman saw its adaptability to the use of an entrance court, like that of a monastery, so that he should not be obliged to break the solid range of buildings to the east of the chief court. The plan of the whole is not fortuitous, but is laid out *ab initio* on the monastic plan adapted to some existing buildings.

The wall was of chalk and flints, pierced with pointed windows of different dates. The lower part only was cased with brick at some later date. It was, we may remember, up to 1545 an outside wall, with a right of way under it, and subject to waste from the rubbing of traffic and cattle.*

The contract is solely for timber-work, but the College was not built of wood. Had that been the case the walls would have appeared in the agreement. They must have been otherwise provided for, and had no doubt been begun before John de Mildenhale came upon the scene. There is no account of the building of the Chapel. A license was granted by the Bishop of Ely to build a Chapel or an oratory, on May 30, 1352.† It does not follow that it was built immediately.‡ Trinity Hall and Clare both frequented the parish church of St. John Zachary till the church and its parish were suppressed by Henry VI. to make room for King's College. Bateman's statutes order services in the parish church, or in the College Chapel when one shall have been built. Both Colleges afterwards went to St. Edward's, where in 1445 a north aisle was built for Trinity Hall and a south aisle for Clare. The statutes of William Dallyng, who was Master from 1471 to 1502, set forth by his successor Edward Shouldham, order Masses to be said in the Chapel. It existed, therefore, before 1502. This seems to be the first mention of it, and it might appear from this and

* Warren has a note to the effect that Dr. Reynolds told him 'that one Mildenhale built the north side of our College.' Probably he was right, but he had no more means of judging than we have.

† Warren, p. 319.

‡ The building of the Chapel of Gonville Hall followed the license by forty years (Willis and Clark, vol. i., p. 220).

from the building at St. Edward's that it was not built till some time between 1445 and 1502. The inference is, however, not quite warranted. There was a Chapel at Clare, for instance, in 1392, mentioned again in 1401,* at the time when their statutes directed the Scholars of Clare to frequent the parish church, and they certainly had a Chapel when they built their aisle to St. Edward's; so may Trinity Hall have had when they built the north aisle of St. Edward's.

The state of opinion and practice about private chapels and oratories in the Middle Ages requires to be considered. From the sixth century onward, in Western Europe, laymen of property had begun to erect private chapels or oratories upon their estates, and had attempted to divert from the older churches (*matrices ecclesiæ*) the endowments which had formerly belonged to them for the benefit of these new foundations. The canonists of Trinity Hall were familiar with the multitude of canons and decrees which forbade such diversion, or only allowed it under strict episcopal control. The same jealousy for the older foundations continued to prevail later, and where private chapels were allowed the stipulation was constantly made by the Bishop of the diocese that their owners should go to the parish church on greater festivals, that the church might not lose its dues. The principal offerings were made on the chief festivals.

An oratory was only a place of prayer, unconsecrated, and was readily allowed to be used for prayers only. Mass could not be celebrated in it without the Bishop's license, and then, of course, upon a consecrated superaltar—a movable altar stone, that is. A chapel might

* Willis and Clark, vol. i., pp. 80, 81.

be consecrated or not, but was always either licensed or consecrated. It was a place for the celebration of Sacraments, not merely for prayer; but nevertheless, those who used it for their convenience were bound to use their parish church also. The fact of the College frequenting St. John's and St. Edward's, therefore, has no bearing upon the existence or non-existence of the Chapel in Trinity Hall. Bateman by his will, leaving books and vestments, evidently assumed that there was shortly going to be a Chapel, though these might be useful also for the services performed by and in behalf of members of the College in the parish church.

In 1513, to continue the story of the Chapel, repairs and additions were made, for which the accounts exist.* They were not extensive, amounting to £3 5s. 4d. in all. This was chiefly devoted to the building and painting of 'le crest,' an ornament along the roof, so there were no rooms over the Chapel as at present; but they included 15s. 'pro dedicacione capellæ,' and 1s. 2d. 'pro vesta linea pro episcopo.' But Bishop Stanley of Ely may have only dedicated a previously licensed chapel in that year. Indeed, it is nearly certain that Mass must have been performed there earlier. The eighteenth-century restorer, converting the Chapel into 'a neat and elegant room,' as the contemporary description of his outrage puts it, has left little evidence to help us to fix the date of the original building. The buttresses on the south side are ancient, but tell us little. The old window, in what was the Master's Lodge, and is now the hall, abutting upon the west wall of the antechapel, or rather upon the buildings above it, shows that these, at any rate, are later than

* Trinity Hall Miscell. Papers, vol. i., p. 4.

this window. In the Chapel itself a piscina, discovered in 1864, and happily preserved, shows by its style that the building is earlier than 1513, as we know, and by the fact of its being there at all shows that it was adapted for the celebration of Mass before 1513. The Chapel had been built for more than an oratory, and one at least of the three altars, shown to have been prepared for by the list of plate, furniture, and vestments appended to the statutes, existed when men fashioned this piscina, used in connexion with an altar, in a style which recalls the fourteenth century much more readily than the later fifteenth. We must be content, however, to remain in ignorance of the exact date of the building of the Chapel.*

Wickmer's mastership witnessed the great insurrection of 1381. The allies of the mob, who barbarously murdered Simon of Sudbury in London, and everywhere assailed the 'learning of the clerks,' were not likely to be tolerant of civilians and canonists. Indeed the undoubted clerical element in the rising, Wicliffite and Franciscan both, represented exactly that element of clerical life which had been in opposition to the Founder of the College, and to the Popes whom he had served. It is possible that rioters thundered in vain against the closed gates, in the very gateway which, now removed from its former station, opens upon the

* The wall which used to divide the east end of the Chapel from the old Treasury, perhaps from the vestry once, which was pulled down in 1864, was 'principally of brick' (Willis and Clark). If ancient brickwork, it might fix the building of the chapel as not earlier than the late fifteenth century. But there seems to be no memory of what style of work it was, and it may, of course, have been rebuilt when the vestry was turned into a Treasury. This space was thrown into the Chapel in 1864.

end of Garret Hostel Lane. More likely they got in, for Town seems generally to have mastered Gown on this occasion, and did mischief. Some of Bateman's books may have been among those burnt upon the Market Hill, where an old woman is recorded to have cast books upon a bonfire, exclaiming: 'Away with the learning of the clerks!'

Robert Braunch, 1384-1413, succeeded Wickmer. In his time a Parliament was held in Cambridge, September 9 to October 17, 1388. It was during the period of Richard's tutelage to the Duke of Gloucester and the Lords Appellant. We know of no reason why the place was fixed upon. The date covered the time of Stourbridge Fair, Holy Cross Day and Eve, and Cambridge must have been full of visitors, apart from those whom a Parliament would bring. It is probable that the spacious lodgings of the rising Colleges and of the hostels would be requisitioned to take in some of the great men. The King himself lodged at Barnwell Priory, where the Parliament sat; but the new buildings of Trinity Hall, enclosing what was then the largest court in the University, and with additional buildings beyond it, would be immediately suggested as a shelter for some of the King's servants.

Henry Spenser, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, would have a right to be there as representative of the Founder, and Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, the Chancellor, would be at home among the civilians. There is a possibility that the Chancellor had an experience of the frugal College fare, for after Richard's downfall this same Thomas Arundel, then Archbishop of Canterbury, made a visitation of the University. So far as Trinity Hall was concerned with merciful

results, for he raised the allowance of the Custos and Fellows for Commons to 16 pence a week. To judge from the alternatives offered to De Stretton, with the rectory of Blofield, when 10 marks, or £6 13s. 4d., made the difference between board in College and expenses elsewhere for a year, his rate of allowance must have been nearly double the same sum. He was perhaps specially favoured. There was one benefaction of this period overlooked by Warren. By his will, proved on February 14, 1390-91, Robert Weston, Rector of Marum, left 2 shillings to each Fellow, and 12 pence to each scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, which must be our College, and to the library a book, *Johannes in Collecturis*.*

Robert Braunch held the Mastership from 1384 to 1413. He was succeeded by Henry Wells, who ruled, probably, till 1429.† The period of English success in France was marked by no recorded incident of importance to Trinity Hall. The great European position of Henry V., and his negotiations with France, Burgundy and the Empire, and his mission to the Council of Constance, gave abundant occupation to civilians. In the next reign a similar mission gave employment to a Master of Trinity Hall. This was Marmaduke Lumley, who succeeded to the Mastership in 1429. Already in 1427 he had become Chancellor of the University. He was a man of mark, apart from his University position. In 1430 he was raised to the See of Carlisle, but continued to hold the Mastership till

* *Lincoln Wills*, A. Gibbons, 1688, p. 87. 'Marum' must be Mareham le Fen, Lincolnshire, so spelt in *Liber Valorum*, 1680.

† Warren leaves a blank between Wells and Lumley, but queries it. There is no record, apparently, of an intervening Master, though Fuller thought that there was one.

1443. In 1438 he was nominated English envoy to the Council at Ferrara, which was intended to heal the schism of East and West, and which did somewhat restore the Papal prestige, damaged by the acts of the Council at Basle. In 1447 Lumley was Lord High Treasurer of England for two years. In 1450 he was translated to Lincoln. He was of the political party of the Duke of Suffolk and of Cardinal Beaufort, and had been opposed to the Duke of Gloucester. He died in 1452, before the Wars of the Roses had actually broken out. He was a statesman of repute in his day, and his being at the head of the College shows a certain consideration attaching itself to the appointment.

He was succeeded in the Mastership in 1443 by Simon Dallyng, who was himself a benefactor to the College, and in whose times very important changes were brought about in Cambridge, affecting Trinity Hall closely. Henry VI. was going about to found King's College. His scheme involved the acquisition of a great deal of land, including some belonging to Trinity Hall, and the site of the parish church of St. John's Zachary which Trinity Hall and Clare used. Already in Lumley's Mastership the first steps had been taken by the King. In 1440 he bought from the College the garden across Milne Street, opposite Clare, where the old court of King's was built. A smaller piece of Trinity Hall land, in what is now the court of King's, was bought later. Dallyng became Master while the transactions connected with the foundation of King's were in progress, and guarded his College interests well. Simon Dallyng was a gentleman of property and influence, apparently, and as early as 1444 made interest

with John Langton, the Chancellor of the University and one of the King's Commissioners for the obtaining of the site for his College, for the acquisition of the Church of St. Edward for Trinity Hall. Dallyng paid Langton 100 marks, according to an indenture drawn up between them, and preserved, by which Langton was to exert himself to get the patronage and appropriation of St. Edward's for the College. The deed is dated June 8, 22 Henry VI.* St. John Zachary had stood south of Clare. The east end seems to have abutted on Milne Street, and to have been, therefore, covered by the present west end of King's Chapel. The growth of Colleges along the river-bank, in place of houses and shops, and the projected pulling down of many more houses for the site of King's, must have ousted many of the town parishioners of St. John's, and made its demolition no great loss except to Trinity Hall and Clare. The two churches, St. John's and St. Edward's, belonged to Barnwell Priory. On February 20, 1445-6, the King obtained their advowsons from Barnwell. On July 30, 1446, the Bishop of Ely appointed a Commission to inquire into the desirability of uniting the parishes, and on November 10, 1446, the formal charter of union was delivered in St. Edward's Church.† The deed declares that the revenues of St. John's were so much diminished by the demolition of houses that they could not support a chaplain, and that the revenues of St. Edward's were also affected. The two were accordingly joined. The asserted motive of the Bishop is

* It is in the Trinity Hall Treasury Documents, St. Edward's bundle. It was agreed that if Trinity Hall acquired St. Edward's the ground covered by King's in the parish was to be freed from tithe.

† Pat. Rolls, 24 Hen. VI., p. 2, m. 26, and compare Warren, Appendix xlii.

regard for the Civil and Canon Law, *quibus regitur universalis ecclesia*, for the study of which Trinity Hall was founded. For already, on March 21, the King had conveyed the parish and patronage of St. Edward's to Trinity Hall, taking the subsequently absorbed parish of St. John's along with it, except that King's was tithe free. According to a bond entered into with the Priory of Barnwell by the Custos and Fellows of Trinity Hall, the tithes of corn in the united parishes were leased to the Priory when the appropriation and union were completed.* But this was a voluntary arrangement. The College was given complete possession of the parish, could apply the revenue as it chose, and appoint and dismiss a chaplain at pleasure.† Any Fellow who from time to time was deputed to perform the services was sworn to hand over all tithes, offerings and revenue to the College, receiving a fee such as seemed good to the Master, 'secundum suam diligentiam et laborem.'‡ In 1560 Cox, Bishop of Ely, reported to Parker that St. Edward's was a benefice having neither Rector nor Vicar, but 'curatos amovibiles' only. It was something like a donative, where the officiating minister was appointed by the patron without presentation, institution, or induction, with the additional peculiarity that he could be put out again by the same power which had ap-

* The documents are in the Trinity Hall Treasury, St. Edward's bundle, marked 49 k and m.

† 'Concessimus . . . quod ipsi ecclesiam predictam appropriare et eam in proprios usus tenere possint;' 'et unum Capellanum idoneum valeant deservire . . . et huiusmodi Capellanum quo sibi placuerit removere valeant,' etc. Warren's Book, Appendix xxxiv., quotes the whole from the Treasury Documents.

‡ Warren's Book, Appendix xxxv.

pointed him. He is however sometimes spoken of as the Vicar of St. Edward's, though he has no right to vicarial tithes. The original church of St. Edward's must have been mostly rebuilt, in the Decorated style, not long before this time. The tower is older. But it was too small for the influx of scholars. To the original nave, with side-aisles and chancel, were added two side-chapels on either side of the chancel, extending further north and south respectively than the side-aisles of the nave, and extending westward one arch further than the chancel. They are in the earlier Perpendicular style. The northern one was used by Trinity Hall, the southern by Clare Hall. Members of the two societies were buried in them. Yet it is certain that Clare Chapel existed at this time, and therefore, as has been pointed out, there is no reason from this to suppose that Trinity Hall Chapel did not exist. The complete control of the church by a College whose Fellows, in course of time, were more and more a lay body, while other Colleges continued to be exclusively clerical, might be expected to give opportunity for the ministrations of men whose opinions might not be those preferred by the dominant clerical party at the moment. In 1529, for instance, during the mastership of Stephen Gardiner be it observed, Hugh Latimer, who is said to have become a reformer from the persuasions of Bilney, Fellow of Trinity Hall, preached in St. Edward's on the Sunday before Christmas. He preached there often, but on this occasion he surpassed himself in originality, taking, apparently, a pack of cards as his text, and illustrating from the Christmas game of 'Triumph,' with hearts as 'Triumph,' or trumps as we say, the superiority of heart-religion over the vain outward show

of the superstitious ornaments of the other court cards.* Buckenham, Prior of the Dominicans, answered him from the same pulpit, and preached on dice. Latimer answered him again. The whole must have been more entertaining than edifying. Less eminent and less eccentric preachers ornamented St. Edward's subsequently. William Warren, the collector of materials for the College history, was appointed minister in 1716. Samuel Hallifax, subsequently Bishop of St. Asaph, was appointed in 1760. Dr. Jowett, who 'a little garden made,' was appointed in 1785. In 1832 Henry John Rose, Fellow of St. John's, was appointed. Less prominent than his brother Hugh James Rose, he nevertheless like him represented the Cambridge and more moderate wing of the then new Tractarian party. Of late years the pulpit of St. Edward's has often been occupied by distinguished men. Harvey Goodwin was appointed in 1848, before his successive removals to Ely as Dean and to Carlisle as Bishop. His sermons in St. Edward's have been described as almost invaluable to men who were dissatisfied with the Evangelical and yet shrank from the Tractarian party. In 1871 the College was able, by controlling St. Edward's, to prevent the scandal of the voice of John Frederick Denison Maurice from being practically silenced in the parochial pulpits of the Church of England. It is certain that, though the parishes of St. John's and St. Edward's were united, Henry VI. caused a new St. John's to be built, on a different site from the old one, as a joint parish church for the combined parishes. It was south of Senate House Passage, opposite the Caius Master's

* Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1297, old edition, vol. iii., p. 847, ed. of 1684.

garden. It was probably very small, and not being required after the enlargement of St. Edward's fell into ruin. Dr. Caius speaks of it in the past tense in 1574. Some of the materials were used in Trinity Hall buildings about that time.*

The grave and the trivial are necessarily mingled in human affairs. The possession of St. Edward's by the College necessitated the society keeping an eye upon the revenues, for which purpose the boundaries of the parish had to be strictly defined. Every three years they beat the bounds, and from the account extant of the proceedings in 1734 enjoyed the task. It was May 23, Ascension Day, when the Fellows deputed for the purpose started from the Three Tuns and went by the Mitre, the White Horse, and the Black Bull before reaching St. Catherine's Hall. They penetrated King's, but regretted to find the brewhouse shut up. They encircled Clare and Trinity Hall, and came back to the Three Tuns whence they had started two hours before. They had not been walking all the time. The account ends:

'N.B.—One bottle of white wine given us at ye Tuns, and one bottle of white wine given us at the Mitre. Ale and bread and cheese given by the Minister of St. Edward's at ye Bench in our College Backside.

'*Mem.*—To be given by ye Minister Twelve Halfpenny Loaves, sixpenny worth of Cheshire cheese, seven quarts and a half of ale in ye great stone Bottle for ye people in general, and a Tankard of ale for each churchwarden.'†

* See below, p. 109. Willis and Clark, i. 340, discuss the site of the new St. John's.

† Warren, Appendix cxvi.

It is to be regretted that this ancient fashion of beating the bounds has fallen into disuse, especially as the extension of the buildings of King's would give further occasion for exercise of hospitality by the King's men; though the brewhouse, locked up in 1734, is now non-existent.

That Trinity Hall acquired the parish of St. Edward's was owing to the care of Simon Dallyng, and the praiseworthy desire of Henry VI. to make compensation everywhere for all the land and rights which were of necessity absorbed by his great foundation. It was not the only recompense obtained by the College. On March 3, 1445-46, the King granted them the Hospital of St. Margaret, near Huntingdon, with all the lands and revenues pertaining to it, after the death, cession, or deprivation of Henry Hammond, then Master of the hospital.* On December 5, 1448, he granted them a messuage called Colle's Place in Ripton Abbas, Huntingdonshire, and certain land in Ripton Abbas and Ripton Regis.† Edward IV. in 1468 gave the College a license in mortmain for the further acquisition and holding of lands, and confirmed the grant of St. Margaret's Hospital.‡

Simon Dallyng organized the due application of the revenues so received, founding two Fellowships for canonists and one scholarship. One Fellow and the scholar were to be supported by the appropriation of St. Edward's, and from the lands and tenements procured by Dallyng in Cambridge and in Wood Dalling. St. Margaret's Hospital was let *in firmam* to the Master

* Pat. R., 18 Hen. VI., p. 3, m. 9, and 24 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 7.

† Cart. 27 Hen. VI., n. 42.

‡ Trinity Hall Treasury Documents.

for his life, and at his death was to support the second Fellow. The Master had clearly been the chief agent in securing these advantages to the College, nor is he the last Master to be so honourably distinguished. In the words of the preamble to his additional statutes, which are headed: 'Statuta Magistri Simonis Dallyng in Collegio Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ, "it is declared":

'Quod Magister Simon Dallyng nuper Custos dicti Collegii dum eidem laudabiliter præfuit ad Reverentiam et Honorem Summæ et Individuæ Trinitatis in cuius honorem dictum nostrum Collegium . . . extat fundatum, augmentationemque Divini cultus et numerum sociorum dicti Collegii nonnulla bona tam spiritualia quam temporalia, viz., Ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Edwardi præfatæ villæ Cantabrigiensis ac hospitale iuxta Huntingdon terras et tenementa prata ac pasturam in villa Cantabrigiensi et Dallyng situata, et cum sua propria industria præfato nostro Collegio ac Custodi et Sociis eiusdem procuravit, perquisivit, concessit et dedit, obtentaque primities licentia Regia cæterorumque omnium quorum interest consensu et assensu præhabitis, suis propriis laboribus et expensis appropriavit et univit in perpetuum permansura,' etc.

His zeal, energy and personal expenditure for the good of the College are probably justly celebrated. His name, those of his father and mother, and of his uncle Thomas, were to be remembered in the Mass, after the name of the Founder, and his *obit* was to be celebrated on the Feast of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, and on the vigil thereof. The Master and Fellows were to be bound to attend if possible. The Master if present was to receive 20 pence, a Fellow 12 pence, a Scholar 6 pence, out of the revenues which

Dallyng had procured. From the same source the Fellows and *Commensales* were to have a supper costing not more than 6s. 8d. This seems to be the first mention of the *Commensales*, or Fellow Commoners, whose possible existence had been provided for in Bateman's statutes. The very small society was strengthened, in fact, by the adhesion of men who paid their own footing for the sake of sharing in the common life, services and studies. They are not to be confounded in character with the youthful Fellow Commoners of later days. Several distinguished men so associated themselves with the College in the 150 years following Simon Dallyng, as inmates, however, not as students.

There were more humble dependents of the College in the newly acquired Hospital of St. Margaret. There the College was to have always three poor men, receiving 3 pence each a week, and saying daily 150 Aves, a Pater Noster after every ten, and a Credo after every fifty, for the souls of all faithful departed. The prevailing religious idea of the fifteenth century was to help souls in purgatory. *Tempora mutantur;* the enforced leisure of inmates of workhouses, which are the modern equivalent to *hospitalia*, might be so employed now without clashing with outside industry, but they would not generally know even the Pater Noster. Early in the nineteenth century two cottages in Huntingdon, called the Spital Houses, inhabited by poor widows, were supposed to represent the Hospital of St. Margaret.

To Simon Dallyng succeeded Simon Thornham as Master, from 1453 to 1471. William Dallyng succeeded him. He was of the same family as Simon Dallyng, not probably his brother, or Simon would have men-

tioned him as such in his will. They bore the same arms, ermine a bend sable charged with three acorns or. A crescent gules, for difference, is introduced into the coat of Simon in one of the old tables of arms in the Master's Lodge, and into William's coat in the other. He left property to the College in support of former foundations, and to celebrate his own *obit*. The Master, Fellows, and Scholars present at the Mass on the day of the celebration, the Feast of St. William the Archbishop (of York), June 8, were to be rewarded as they were at Simon Dallyng's commemoration, and were also to have an additional feast of the value of 6s. 8d. The statute regulating his benefaction is interesting as containing the first mention of the Chapel as existing. William Dallyng's Mastership saw the conclusion of a quarrel with King's. A suit had been depending some time before the Vice-Chancellor between Trinity Hall and King's concerning a drain or watercourse which ran from King's under Trinity Hall. King's apparently used it for its natural purpose, and Trinity Hall objected. An arbitrator was called in, and a compromise was arrived at, March 15, 1494-95, by which King's agreed to keep the drain clean, and Trinity Hall to allow the water to pass. King's, that is, was not to use it as a common sewer, which was all that Trinity Hall probably wanted, for they could scarcely stop or altogether divert it.* It still exists, though disused as a drain, entering Trinity Hall near the site of the old gateway, and passing under the Master's Lodge, through the Fellows' garden to the river. It is interesting in connexion with the question of the state of the old site. It was no doubt even then, in

* Trinity Hall Documents, Miscell., vol. ii.

1494, covered in, but it is clearly the gutter or water-course of 1350 which divided Goldcorne's and Simon de Brunne's property, in those days turning northward towards Garret Hostel Green, but since then diverted to pass straight through to the river.* William Dallyng was succeeded in 1502 by Edward Shouldham, LL.D. and Fellow. He was already a Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Kelshall in Hertfordshire. He died in 1503, and for some reason his successor, John Wright, was not elected till 1505. Wright was a Bachelor of Civil Law. He resigned in 1512, and died in 1519 at Clothall in Hertfordshire, where he was buried. He was Rector of the parish.† Next came Walter Hewke. He was also Rector of Holywell in Huntingdonshire. He was Master till 1517. The codicil of his will is dated May 1 of that year, in which he died. He founded by his will a Fellowship, the Fellow to be a priest 'vertuous, good and able in wit and in manners,' student in Canon or Civil Law, or in both, and capable of taking his Doctor's degree within ten years of his election. He was to celebrate Mass for the Founder's soul. Dr. Hewke was buried in the chapel, 8 feet west of the step of the high altar, but in the eighteenth century Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, with the prevalent passion for interfering with the remains of antiquity which characterized his age, and is not now extinct, removed the brass from over his

* See Trinity Hall Documents, Miscellaneous Papers, vol. ii. Watercourses do not entirely disappear, and there seems to be no other drain which can be identified with the gutter of 1350. If Goldcorne's and Simon de Brunne's properties had been divided by a gutter coming across the middle of the chief court, that gutter would have come from under Caius, not from under King's.

† Cole MSS., vi. 101. Warren misdates his death in his list of Masters, but puts it right in Appendix lxxiv. Cole saw his tomb.

tomb to the antechapel. It is among the best brasses in Cambridge. The figure is in a cope embroidered with representations of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles. The original head was stolen, but another has been added. It is matter for congratulation that the inscriptions somehow escaped destruction at the hands of Dowsing or other iconoclasts. There are two labels over the head, with inscriptions. On the first is:

'Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis.'

On the second is:

'Of your Charete pray for ye Sowle of
Master Walter Hewke, Doctor of Canõ.'

At his feet is the inscription:

'Gloria Fama Scolis Laus Artes cætera mũdi.
Vana nimis valeant, spes michi sola Jhesus.
Suscipe Walterũ, bone Jhesu, in fine dierũ:
Qui obiit anno Dñi millesimo quingentesimo X°.'

It appears by his will that he had his gravestone by him when he died, and the full date was left blank, to be filled in later, which was not done. The place in the chapel where the stone and brass originally were is marked by the inscription:

'Walt. Hewke
Custos.'

Hewke was succeeded by Thomas Larke, Archdeacon of Sudbury, and therefore pretty certainly a canonist. He was made Archdeacon of Norwich, April 9, 1522, and resigned the Mastership of Trinity Hall in 1525, surviving several years later. He was succeeded by

[illegible]

[illegible] Fellow, who was [illegible] Cambridge. [illegible] same [illegible] of a Priest-[illegible] Fellows [illegible] St. Edward's [illegible] shillings [illegible] Mass [illegible] October 22, Church. [illegible] a Fellow 8 pence, a [illegible] benefaction had [illegible] Griffin in Bridge also been [illegible]

[illegible] Appendix [illegible]

Street, with the appurtenances and lands belonging to it, together with two other tenements with gardens lying right over against the aforesaid inn in Bridge Street, also two tenements with gardens and yards belonging to them 'next the Cornell agenst the greye ffriars right over agenst the Dolphyn in Alhalowe parish in Cambridge.' The Dolphin was at the corner of Jesus Lane, and this was consequently at the corner of All Saints Passage.

CHAPTER IV

GARDINER'S MASTERSHIP

THE sixteenth century, among its many changes, witnessed the transformation of the Universities. The New Learning, the study of Greek in particular, and the general discrediting of the authorities and the methods of the Middle Ages, revolutionized their teaching. Simultaneously the lay element began to appear more prominently among the students. The young men who studied at Cambridge were less certainly 'clerks' in the future; and gentlemen of birth and fortune, who were intended for a secular career, became less uncommon as Pensioners in Colleges.

In one way Trinity Hall was less likely to be affected than other Colleges by the changed methods and objects of study. The sciences specially pursued in the College were, the one outside the influence of the revival of learning, the other only slowly affected by it. The great feature of the whole revival was the calling in question of the opinions and definitions of mediæval doctors, and the re-examination by aid of a more instructed criticism of the points on which their views and doctrines had been laid down.

The Canon Law rested upon the decisions of mediæval Popes and jurists, and upon the canons of Latin Councils. There was no possible appeal from these to antiquity, no better knowledge of their language, no extended acquaintance with the circumstances which influenced decrees and canons at the time of their promulgation. Until such time as the growth of criticism should show half the Canon Law to rest on a forgery, it was a complete and perfected branch of knowledge.* The science of the Canon Law was a survival of a definite period, complete in itself, inexplicable by what went before it, unaffected by what was passing around it. The men immersed in the study of the Canon Law were almost of necessity conservatives, attaching a special importance to a past which was in every other respect being superseded. The religious movement abroad and in England, the expansion of the royal supremacy in England, and the lessening of the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, ran counter to the preconceived notions and prejudices of the education of the canonists. The fortifications of their citadel would not be modified to suit new fashions of warfare, but, like a fortified seaport from which the waves have retreated, would be surely left an interesting survival away from the busy life of the world. At last, in 1534, Henry VIII. forbade their lectures and abolished their degrees; and though the Canon Law was still binding on the clergy, the King reduced it to a set of rules which he might modify at pleasure. To this reformed Canon Law, as Fuller calls

* The forged Decretals, on which much of the Canon Law depended, were perhaps already suspected, but were not fully exposed till about 1560 by the Magdeburg Centuriators, after England had ceased to have much interest in the old Canon Law.

it, men applied themselves still to qualify as Chancellors of dioceses; but the dignity had departed, it was no longer a Faculty.*

The Civil Law was not in the same way abolished, nor was it a mediæval creation, but yet as it was studied it was a science of the Middle Ages. The works of Bartolus and Baldus, the scholastic jurists, who endeavoured to apply the dialectics of the schoolmen to the elucidation of the Roman Law, stood in the Library of Trinity Hall, and still stand there, dusty and forgotten. The mediæval writers had known nothing of the contemporary history of the time of the making of the laws of Rome. They were ignorant of manners, beliefs, conditions of society, of the very meaning of technical terms which are all necessary to a proper understanding of the subject. They could not, from ignorance of Greek, draw instruction from the living example of the law as applied in the Eastern Roman Empire in their own time. This was a state of things in process of amendment abroad in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. Andrew Alciati of Milan was bringing the history and the literature of Rome to bear upon the explanation of the Pandects, and using the works of the Greek jurists of Constantinople to the same end. Antonio Agustino the Spaniard was following in the same course. Alciati's first work, however, was not printed till 1544,† and the improved study of the Civil Law does not appear to have made much progress in Cambridge by the middle of the century, to judge from the catalogue of books in the Trinity

* Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, sect. vi.

† See Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, part i., chap. vii., for the improved study of law.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

STEPHEN GARDINER

Hall Library in 1557.* Yet Gardiner, who examined for the University in Civil and Canon Law in 1523-24 before becoming Master of Trinity Hall, was in favour of the improved methods of study in these pursuits, where no controversial theology was involved. The publications of the more enlightened civilians of the century were rather late in date to come into use in England in Gardiner's time of academical activity, which closed in 1547. Whatever progress might be made in the method of interpreting the laws of Rome, their study, as the sole way to a philosophy of law, was becoming out-of-date. The law of England had assumed an importance of its own. Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* had been a bold assertion of the superiority of a State ruled in accordance with English law to one where the functions and prerogatives of government were based upon the law of Rome. The wide fields of political speculation had been entered upon by writers as different in aims and methods as Machiavelli and More. Henry VIII. founded the Regius Professorship of Civil Law in 1540; but before that date the science of the Professor was becoming only one branch of the whole realm of jurisprudence and political science.

Nevertheless, the ranks of the students of the Civil and Canon Laws continued to provide men qualified to administer the affairs of State and Church. The most eminent of those educated at Trinity Hall at this time was undoubtedly Stephen Gardiner. Other eminent men, scholars, Bishops and Archbishops, have filled the

* *Vide infra*, Appendix A. But Alciati's works appeared in the Library in an early printed edition, soon after this catalogue (of 1557) was made.

masterships of Colleges at Cambridge. It is doubtful if there is one who can be put on an equality with Gardiner as a statesman of importance in his time. Gardiner died an unsuccessful man, working under conditions which were irksome to him, and he was perhaps saved by death from witnessing a more complete failure of his policy. No one can defend him as an amiable man, and the absolutely honest and straightforward statesmen of the Tudor reigns were not numerous, and did not, as a rule, die in their beds as he did. But there is no doubt whatever that Gardiner was a very considerable figure in a very momentous period, and brought very considerable ability to bear upon a definitely conceived policy of his own. He has, of course, been the object of violent invective. The writers of the Reformation period, upon whatever side their prejudices may lie, heap up accusations of all kinds upon their opponents, accusations which their successors of the same school have too often repeated without verification. Since Demosthenes proclaimed that the mother of Æschines was a greengrocer, it has been a point in controversy to disparage your opponent's birth, and Gardiner has been given, of course, a disgraceful origin. No one knows the truth of this, and it matters not at all.* He was born about 1483, apparently in Suffolk, and educated at Trinity Hall, where he took his Doctor's degree in 1521. The comparatively ripe age at which he did so argues a late entrance at the University, and probably poor circumstances earlier. The date of his ordination seems to be unknown. In

* See *Dictionary of National Biography* on Gardiner's alleged birth as illegitimate son of Lionel Wydville, Bishop of Salisbury. The story is not contemporary.

1525 he was elected Master of the College on the resignation of Dr. Thomas Larke. He had already become known to those in authority. He had been a tutor in the family of the Duke of Norfolk—probably recommended to the post by Wolsey—and under the same discerning patronage was made chaplain and almoner to the King. In 1528 he was appointed Secretary to the King. To call him Secretary of State would imply a higher ministerial position than a King's Secretary really filled at the time. His training and abilities recommended him as a fit person to be sent with Bishop Fox in the same year on a special embassy to the Pope to negotiate for the dissolution of the King's marriage with Catherine of Aragon. He was unsuccessful, but his services were recognised by promotion to the archdeaconry of Norfolk. Though unsuccessful at the Papal Court, his influence was potent in inducing the University of Cambridge to declare against the lawfulness of any marriage with a deceased brother's widow, in 1530. In 1531 he was again sent to attempt to make an agreement with the Pope in company with Bonner. His zeal was again rewarded by the archdeaconry of Leicester, and in 1534 he was consecrated to the See of Winchester,* which had been vacant since the death of his original patron Wolsey. Henceforth, throughout the remainder of Henry's reign, the two men who owed their first advancement to the notice of the great Minister, Cromwell and Gardiner, were the prominent figures in English politics next to the King himself.

The position of Bishop of Winchester was of special importance; not only was it a see of great value—when

* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 319.

Wolsey died it was worth rather more than £4,000 a year,* though it was diminished by Henry's zeal for acquisition during and before Gardiner's episcopate—but the Bishop had, for centuries we may say, been always one of the chief royal advisers. Gardiner resigned his secretaryship in 1533, but he continued to be the prominent Conservative member of the King's Council, and during the more reactionary years of 1539-47 he was especially powerful. His position, whether taken up conscientiously or not, had the good fortune to agree closely with that taken up by the King. He was an anti-Papal Catholic. His book, *De Vera Obedientia*, published in 1535, upheld the royal supremacy. He gave his support to the sweeping away of the more grossly superstitious observances which had prevailed among the lower classes, the abolition of relics and pilgrimages, and he was employed in the translation of Cranmer's Bible on the Gospels of SS. Luke and John. He had, however, no idea of modifying the commonly accepted doctrines of the mediæval Church on the Sacraments. There is no evidence that his attitude in this was not quite honest. He was a statesman and a lawyer rather than a theologian. His studies had taught him that a royal supremacy had been a fact in England long before Henry VIII., and that Papal supremacy had been mischievously exercised in England and elsewhere, and had been challenged by Bishops and doctors long before Luther. He had twice seen the Papal Court and its corruptions. He had no hesitation in recommending

* Memorandum in Loseley MSS., under date 22 Henry VIII. Gardiner declared that he received £1,300 a year less than Fox, Wolsey's predecessor. He paid a fine of £366 13s. 4d. for his temporalities to the King.

strong measures against those who differed from the established laws in Church and State, but he was not more of a persecutor than anyone else in authority. He had nothing to do with the execution of Thomas Bilney, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, for heresy at Norwich in 1531. He did not execute a single heretic as diocesan of Winchester in Mary's reign. Only three heretics belonging to the diocese suffered in Mary's reign. Another, not belonging to the diocese, was tried and executed by the Bishop, but all these cases were after Gardiner was dead.* During Mary's reign he protected Thomas Smith and Roger Ascham, protested against the attempt to arrest Peter Martyr, and supplied him with funds to return to his native country.† He was an influential member of an Administration which kept down rebellion and warded off foreign attack, and kept the government respected. When he was out of office and his policy reversed, 1547-53, English government was never more corrupt and unsuccessful. His influence declined just before Henry's death. The King finally excluded him from the Council of Regency for Edward VI., and from the post of executor to his will, to which he had been originally nominated.‡ Edward's Regency believed his abilities to be worth buying, and tried to make him concur in their policy. Many who had apparently been of his way of thinking before found it easy to accommodate themselves to the measures of the Protector. Gardiner refused; he was conscientious or far-sighted. He was

* *Victoria County Histories—Surrey*, vol. i., Political History, p. 376. One Bembridge suffered at Winchester besides the Surrey cases.

† *Dictionary of National Biography.*

‡ Henry's will is not beyond dispute genuine, and Gardiner may have been excluded by the reforming party.

thrown into the Fleet Prison in 1547, released in 1548, but in the same year was put into the Tower, and deprived of his bishopric with its still princely income in February, 1551. At a subsequent date he was deprived of the Mastership of Trinity Hall. He remained in the Tower till after Edward's death and the brief usurpation of the Lady Jane. He was immediately restored to his see and to the Mastership by Mary, and given the Great Seal. He was practically Prime Minister henceforth till his death on November 12, 1555, during the less disastrous part of Mary's reign. He was not in favour of the Spanish marriage—he would have liked the Queen to marry an English nobleman—but he took prompt measures to crush the rebellion against it. He was in favour of destroying Elizabeth as a possible continuator of the policy of the late reign. He undoubtedly was in favour of repassing the old Lollard statutes for punishing heresy. As Chancellor he directed the prosecutions of certain reforming clergy. He acquiesced in the restoration of Papal supremacy, and wrote a palinode to his *De Vera Obedientia*. What was a man to do when the lawful Sovereign repudiated, in words, the royal supremacy, though she exercised it in fact on occasions? Moreover, his attitude of Henry's reign had been made practically impossible by the events of Edward's. The great weight of Conservative opinion in England was afraid of the royal supremacy now. The Queen herself wanted to return to the *status quo ante* her father's defiance of Rome. The Queen's government had to be carried on. Gardiner was a renegade and a turncoat as much, and as little, as Wellington and Peel were after they carried Catholic Emancipation.

Gardiner's portrait, after the school of Holbein, hangs in the Combination-Room of the College. His face is clean-shaven, dark-browed, sallow. The eyes are anxious-looking, the lips thin and tightly pressed together. It is the face of a man who has faced dangers and anxieties, of a masterful man, and one under whose displeasure it would be bad to fall. He looks more like a statesman than a saint, more like a lawyer than a statesman. His portrait is before us. His picture, drawn by his enemies, is not quite like it. Bishop Poynet's, his successor's, description of him is:

'This doctour hade a swart colour, an hanging loke, frowning browes, eies an ynche within the head, a nose hooked like a bussarde, wyde nosetrilles like a horse, euer snuffing in to the wynde, a sparowe mouthe, great pawes like the deuil, talauntes on his fete like a grype, two ynches longer than the naturall toes.'*

The portrait does not go down to the toes, but the libel on his looks may make us pause in accepting some of the views on his character coming from the same party.

Gardiner fills so great a place as a statesman, at so momentous an epoch, that some detailed notice of him as such is unavoidable, though his chief activities lay outside Cambridge.

The fact that his powers were exercised upon a larger stage made him perhaps of less account in his College and his University. In 1540 he was Chancellor, and as such would have to see to the enforcement of the Act of the Six Articles in the University, an Act so severe that it probably frightened away those who might have felt

* Poynet, quoted in Strype, Mem. III., i. 450.

its weight, for singularly few people suffered under it anywhere, and apparently none in Cambridge. As Chancellor, Gardiner unfortunately distinguished himself as the opponent of one undoubted reform in learning. When the study of Greek had been revived in Western Europe, the corrupt pronunciation of the Constantinopolitan scholars had naturally been followed. Erasmus had led the way towards a better pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs, and Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke were trying to introduce his method into Cambridge. In 1542 the Chancellor issued an order against the change. Though both methods were wrong, as usually expressed by English mouths, there is no doubt that what Gardiner favoured was the worse error, and the contrary practice, our practice, prevailed in a short time. These contentions were comparatively trivial, but troublesome times were coming for the University, and not least for Trinity Hall.

The Act of 37 Henry VIII., c. 4, for the suppression of Colleges and chantries, alarmed the Universities. It was followed by a Royal Commission, which investigated the affairs of the Colleges. But this Commission, which did its work speedily in the early part of 1546, consisted of moderate members of the University: Parker, Master of Corpus and afterwards Elizabeth's Archbishop; May, President of Queens', but a former Fellow of Trinity Hall; and Dr. Redman. Its report has led to the preservation of a record of the state of the College. The Master's stipend, commons and allowance for clothes was £6 13s. 4d. per annum. The great Bishop of Winchester must have had some particular motive for keeping so small a benefaction. It is said that he looked to it as a humble retirement, if the storms of

Church and State should drive him from the princely halls of Farnham, and the state of Winchester House. There were eight Fellows, priests, receiving £5 6s. 8d. each, two not priests with £4 13s. 4d. each. Six Scholars received £2 4s. each, one Scholar £2 9s. 8d. The clear annual value of the estates was £119 2s., and the expenditure of the past year was £139 6s. Like the monasteries when suppressed, the Colleges were often living beyond their incomes. There was an advantage in having as Master a Bishop whose income was counted in thousands, but perhaps some anxiety about the future fate of their property may have made Colleges less anxious to spare what they might not always be allowed to enjoy.

In the first year of Edward VI. a new storm impended when all Colleges, chantries and free chapels were suppressed by Act of Parliament, and their revenues granted to the King. Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and Winchester, were excluded from the Act, but it was a little ominous of what might happen. On November 12, 1548, a new Commission was issued for the visitation of Cambridge and Eton. It was addressed to Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; Sir William Paget; Thomas Smith, Secretary to the King; John Cheke the scholar; William May, President of Queens' and Dean of St. Paul's; and Thomas Wendrie, the King's physician. It is noticeable that Paget, the leading layman among them, and a representative of the party of spoliation, though not so bad as those who shortly usurped all power, was a Trinity Hall man; so was May one of the respectable ecclesiastics. The Commission might have been worse composed. They had

ample powers of reform. Money left or employed for the celebration of *obits* and in feasts, or for the maintenance of choristers or for any ecclesiastical use, or for teaching boys grammar, was to be diverted to other uses in the same or a different College. Colleges were to be united if advisable. Any who opposed or thwarted the Commissioners were to be expelled, if censure and imprisonment were not enough to reform them. The whole system of disputations, lectures and degrees, and all statutes, might be altered, and the whole place, in short, turned upside down.* It is a mercy that they did some good and so little mischief. They revised the statutes of the University and of some Colleges, and set themselves to the abolition of *obits* and the confiscation of chapel furniture, and to the destruction of what were considered superstitious books in the libraries. The Trinity Hall Library probably then lost some of Bateman's books.

What specially interests us is that the Commissioners were commanded to take steps for the amalgamation of two or more Colleges into one, for the promotion of the study of the Civil Law, which study was much decayed, and in fact nearly extinct, in Cambridge—'verum etiam prope modum extinctum.' Parker's report shows that there were probably but two civilians to eight canonists among the Fellows of Trinity Hall, though some of the priest-Fellows were *doctores utriusque iuris*. It was suggested that there ought to be a College of civilians in attendance on the Council. This clearly implies also a College in London, recruited no doubt from this proposed College in Cambridge, but constituting a permanent diplomatic service at the disposal of the

* Rymer, xv. 178.

Government. When presently Dr. Harvey founded Doctors' Commons, he possibly had this suggestion in view. It is interesting to see the international importance of the Civil Law still recognised. The King was made to say—he was only eleven years old—that his name might be bestowed on the College so formed in Cambridge. He would have become ultimately a pious Founder, at the expense of others, as he often did in the case of Grammar Schools. St. Edward's Church would have lent its name to the perpetuation of the fiction. The Commissioners, in pursuance of this plan, recommended the suppression of Clare Hall, which was described as much decayed, and then the amalgamation of its revenues and buildings with those of Trinity Hall, to form the new Edward's College of Civil Law. The Fellows of Clare submitted unwillingly. They professed that as dutiful subjects they must agree to the suppression of their house at the King's command, but they could not consent thereto in loyalty to their engagement to support the foundation. To be prepared for the worst, they thoughtfully divided the College plate among themselves. Some of it, or the price of some of it, was restored when the danger was passed.* It was said that the Fellows of Trinity Hall were prepared to accept the proposed scheme.† The Master was in the Tower, and, according to Fuller, protested vigorously against the change, saying truly that it was needless to encourage the study of law in such a way, but that Trinity Hall as it was could breed more civilians than all England could prefer according to their

* Cooper's Le Keux' *Memorials of Cambridge*, Additions and Corrections, p. 285.

† Rogers to Smith, May 15, 1549 (State Papers, Dom., Ed., vi., 1549).

deserts.* He was still Master while the scheme was under discussion. His deprivation would be sure to follow the amalgamation. But though the individuality and ancient status of the College would be destroyed, it was not threatened with the same absolute extinction which hung over Clare. The old home of the study of the Civil Law would still be remembered, and would preserve by that study some record of its past. Possibly Paget and May were responsible for providing that their own College should be the basis of the new foundation. The scheme, however, fell through altogether. Bishop Ridley developed scruples. He recalled the story of Naboth's vineyard—Nabal's he calls it—which had never troubled the less tender consciences of Henry nor of his son's Council. He thought it likely to be a scandal if a College founded for the glory of God and the setting forth of His Word were suppressed for the sake of endowing students of man's laws. Also he recalled how Hugh Latimer had been a Fellow of Clare, and Latimer was doing yeoman's service against the Papists. Alexander spared a city for the sake of Homer: Latimer is greater than any poet.† It is possible to suspect that Latimer had made interest with Ridley for his old College. At all events, Ridley's opposition prevailed, and Trinity Hall as well as Clare owes him a debt of gratitude. The operations of the Commissioners were, in fact, suspended by the insurrections and the general confusion of 1549.

It is probable that Trinity Hall, for the reasons suggested above, the naturally conservative attitude

* Fuller, *Hist. of University of Camb.* (Nicholls' ed.), sect. vii., p. 180.

† Ridley to the Lord Protector (State Papers, Dom., Ed. VI., 1549).

of canonists and civilians, and from the influence of Gardiner, was rather an anti-reforming College. Lord William Howard, son to that Duke of Norfolk into whose household Gardiner had been introduced by Wolsey, studied at Trinity Hall. He was born about 1512, so that his University career coincided with the earlier days of Gardiner's mastership. He, no doubt, was intended to receive some training in Civil Law at the College, as a preparation for a public career. His diplomatic service began as early as 1534, with an embassy to Scotland. He was uncle to Anne Boleyn, but, like the rest of the Howards, belonged to the Conservative party of the day, though to the less extreme wing. He served Henry VIII., Mary and Elizabeth, was Privy Councillor to all three, but was not employed by Edward's Regency. His public services took the form especially of diplomacy and naval command. He became Lord Admiral under Mary. He was not an M.A. of Cambridge till 1564, and there is no record of his ever taking a degree in Civil Law. But if he studied it at all, it was the branch of learning required in the superintendent of Admiralty affairs and in an Ambassador. He was created Lord Howard of Effingham by Mary. By a confusion, probably, with him, his more famous son Charles, also Lord Admiral, created Earl of Nottingham, commander of the fleet against the Armada, has been called a Trinity Hall man. Though made an M.A. of Cambridge in 1571, it does not appear that he studied at the University; and in 1552, when he was only sixteen, he was serving abroad as a volunteer in the Imperial army. Gardiner had been practically or actually deprived since Charles was eleven years old.

When Gardiner was restored by Mary, Charles was serving at sea under his father.*

Another man said to have been at the College about this time is Holinshed, the chronicler; but there seems to be no proof of it. Distinguished alumni are apt to emulate the men in buckram, and to increase by repetition.

Another statesman, however, had been trained in the College during Gardiner's mastership, and he also leaned to the same party, with variations, to suit the commodity of the times. He has been mentioned in speaking of Edward's University Commission. Sir William Paget was a man of comparatively humble origin, born in 1505. He was a student at Trinity Hall, and was first noticed and brought forward by Gardiner. It is said that he came early under Bilney the reformer's influence, and circulated Luther's works, and lectured even himself on Melancthon's writings. If true, it shows either that Paget's theological sympathies were not very stable, or that Gardiner was too sensible a man to think that the curiosity of a young man about new opinions was any bar to his usefulness in the future. Perhaps both were the fact. Gardiner was far from being the jealous bigot of popular tradition. Paget was not only a student of Gardiner's College: he was an inmate of his house. Strype quotes Leland upon him:

> "Tu Gardineri petiisti tecta diserti,
> Eloquii sedem, Pieriique chori."

* Neither William nor Charles, Lords Howard of Effingham, were Roman Catholics in the accepted sense. They enjoyed abbey lands, and went to church under Mary and under Elizabeth equally, as many other people did. Charles took the oath of supremacy, and sat on many Commissions for the discovery and punishment of priests and Jesuits.

'That is, being young, he went into learned Gardiner's family, which was the very seat of eloquence and of the Muses.'*

Paget rose through minor offices to become one of the Secretaries of State in 1543, and was constantly employed in diplomatic missions, especially to the Emperor Charles V., with whom he was a favourite. He was one of the executors of Henry's will. He then attached himself to the Protector Somerset, and on his fall was for a time in disgrace. He was, however, shortly again employed by Northumberland's Government, and created Lord Paget. He was a time-server, like most of his contemporaries, and was concerned in the deposition of his old Master from his see. He correctly gauged the state of popular feeling at Edward's death, and gave his hearty support to the movement to secure Mary's succession,† and was in her special favour and confidence. He was Lord Privy Seal in 1556. He supported warmly Mary's marriage and the Spanish alliance, but was in favour of moderate counsels, and threw his influence upon the side of the protectors of Elizabeth against the Spanish Ambassador and Gardiner. He was not admitted into Elizabeth's Privy Council, but was among the statesmen whom she consulted in private. He died in 1563.

Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton in 1547, born about 1500, studied at Trinity Hall, but possibly before Gardiner was Master. Bishop Poynet, however, his contemporary, classes him with Paget and Germaine

* Strype, *Memorials*, III., i. 466. The 'tecta' were, I fear, those of Winchester House, not of the Lodge at Trinity Hall.

† Like the majority of the Council, he appeared to acquiesce in Northumberland's policy, but worked against it.

Gardiner (who was a secretary and kinsman of the Bishop of Winchester) as brought up by Gardiner at Cambridge. He may have been taught law by the 'doctour of practices,' Gardiner, before the latter was Master. He was clerk to the Cofferer of the Household in 1529 and joint Clerk of the Signet in 1530, an appointment in which Paget succeeded him, and was another of Gardiner's protégés. He was a member of Gray's Inn, where he is said to have given offence by his preference for civilians over common lawyers—a relic of his Trinity Hall training. He was constantly employed by Henry, was a Privy Councillor in 1541, and first Lord Keeper and then Lord Chancellor in 1544. He was in the Council of Regency and an executor of Henry's will. Though created Earl of Southampton soon after Henry's death, he was too decidedly a Catholic to be able to act with Somerset, and was driven from office. He died in 1550.*

During the same period Richard Sampson, a Trinity Hall man, was Bishop in succession of Chichester and of Coventry and Lichfield. He was consecrated to the former in 1536, translated to the latter in 1543. Much of the property of his second see was alienated to endow the peerage of the other Trinity Hall man, Lord Paget. Sampson was of the accommodating class of prelates who held their sees through considerable changes. He was consecrated during Henry's supremacy, and was in possession all through Edward's reign. He died two

* His grandson, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the friend of Shakespeare, has been claimed as a Trinity Hall man, but I do not know on what authority. He was at St. John's. Possibly there may be a confusion between him and his father, Henry, the second Earl, who suffered a long detention as a Recusant under Elizabeth. But I know of no evidence in his case either.

months before the actual reconciliation with Rome under Mary, but was evidently expected to concur, otherwise he would have been deprived, as thirteen others were. His University career was anterior to that of Gardiner. He was a Bachelor of Civil Law in 1505, and a Doctor in 1513. Like so many other members of the College, he was distinguished as a diplomatist. He was Chancellor at Tournay for Wolsey when he held that see. He was Ambassador in Spain from 1522 to 1525, and won praise from Wolsey; and was again sent to the Emperor at Bologna, and to Rome in 1529.

A more eminent man of the school of Gardiner was Thomas Thirlby, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Bishop of Westminster, 1540; of Norwich, 1550; of Ely, 1554. He was born in 1506, took his Bachelor's degree in Law in 1521, was Doctor of Civil Law in 1528, and of Canon Law in 1530. We get a personal glimpse of him through Fox's account of how his love of music caused him to distract Bilney the reformer at his devotions, Thirlby having rooms underneath Bilney's where he played the 'Recorder.' The distraction has been repeated, perhaps, in the same rooms, though not always at the expense of devotions. Thirlby was a busy politician. He was an Envoy to France under Henry in 1538 with Gardiner, he was a Commissioner to treat with Scotland in 1543, Ambassador to the Emperor 1545-49 and 1553-54, and a Commissioner to treat with France in 1550, and again in 1558-59. Whatever his original theological opinions, he accepted the See of Westminster when it was erected by the King's letters patent at the expense of the Diocese of London in 1540. He outwardly conformed to the

changes under Edward, having first voted against the Act of Uniformity of 1549, and then enforcing it when it became law. When his see was suppressed in the same way in which it had been created, by letters patent, he enjoyed the confidence of the Government sufficiently to be offered Norwich. Mary appointed him to Ely, and he went as Envoy from her to the Pope to complete the English submission. He was also sent to treat with France at the extreme end of her reign, October, 1558. He is said to have wept over the degradation of Cranmer, but he took part in it. He took a prominent part in persecution in Mary's time, and was deprived shortly after Elizabeth's accession, not only, it is said, because of religion, but because the negotiations with France, in which Elizabeth had continued to employ him, were not successful in securing the restoration of Calais. He died in 1570, having lived in free custody in a house in London. He was the kind of useful public servant whom the Tudor reigns produced so freely, not troubled with inconvenient scruples. If he really objected to taking the oaths to Elizabeth, one is glad to recognise something like a conscience in him. Thirlby's exertions gained from the Crown, under Mary, the grant or confirmation of the grant to the College of the advowsons of the vicarages of Stewkley Magna; Hemingford Gray, where Cowper wrote 'The Dog and the Water-Lily'; and of Fen Stanton, Huntingdonshire; of Gazeley; and of Wetherfield, Essex.*

Another instance of the very general tendency of thought in the society is to be found in the case of William Sone or Soone. He was resident at Gonville

* Pat. R. 4 and 5 Ph. and Mary, p. 3 (March 6, 1558).

Hall in 1548-55, but became Regius Professor of Civil Law in 1561, and a Fellow of Trinity Hall. He resigned in 1563, went abroad, and was afterwards Professor of Law at Louvain—a sure indication of his reason for not continuing in Cambridge.*

Another distinguished man whose undergraduate days began under Gardiner's mastership was William Drury, LL.B. in 1553. He was a Fellow under Queen Mary, but was prepared to take the oaths to Elizabeth, and became Regius Professor of Civil Law in 1559, holding the office for two years before Soone. He was also Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and in 1567 was put on the Ecclesiastical Commission. In 1571 he gave a celebrated opinion as a civilian to the Government in the case of the Bishop of Ross, accused of complicity in the Ridolfi plot while acting as agent for Mary at the English Court. Drury himself fell under suspicion of Romanism in 1577. He died in 1589.

Yet there were reforming members of the College; such was William May or Mey. May was a Fellow of Trinity Hall who took his LL.D. in 1530. He was a civilian, and practised as an advocate, but in 1536 was ordained by the Bishop of Ely subdeacon, deacon and priest in one day by special dispensation of the Bishop. In 1537 he was elected President of Queens'. He was distinctly of the moderate reforming party. In 1537 he was one of the Commissioners who produced *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and he served upon many Commissions, including that for the visita-

* He published abroad a geographical work which made some stir, *Gulielmi Soonii Vantesdini Auditor, sive Pomponius Mela Disputator de Situ Orbis.*

tion of the University under Edward VI. He was employed in the compilation of Edward's First Prayer-Book of 1549. In 1546 he had been made Dean of St. Paul's. He was deprived of the deanery under Mary, and of the Presidency of Queens' for the same reason probably, being a married man. But he was not exposed to persecution, and lived apparently in Cambridge. He was restored to Queens' at Elizabeth's accession, and was intended by her to succeed Heath as Archbishop of York, but died in 1560 as Archbishop-designate only. He was a distinct loss to the Church and the Government—a Reformer who had not been to Frankfort or Zurich.

One Fellow of Trinity Hall, Thomas Bilney, was a martyr for his religious opinions. He was a Norfolk man, ordained priest in 1519. He, like Luther, sought in vain for the spiritual consolation for which he yearned in the fasts and religious exercises of the Church. Like Luther, he found satisfaction in justification by faith according to the Augustinian or Lutheran interpretation of St. Paul, but, unlike Luther, he never broke away from the main body of mediæval religious opinion. On Papal supremacy, the outward unity of the Church, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, he was in what Fox considers a state of inexplicable darkness. He was probably no theologian, but keenly sensitive to the importance of a personal sense of religion. He hated music—we have seen how Thirlby's 'Recorder' annoyed him—and not only objected to music in church, but was pained by it—there was music in Trinity Hall Chapel, no doubt, then, and of course in St. Edward's—and he held the accustomed services to be as incompatible with true devotion in others as

they were in his own case. He also preached against the invocation of saints and the veneration of images. He is said to have influenced many others, notably Latimer, by his conversation. Their walks together round the Castle Hill were held in suspicion, so that it was called Heretics' Hill. He left Cambridge, and preached in Norfolk and London. In 1526 and in 1527 he was accused of heresy along with Thomas Arthur, a Fellow of St. John's, but also like himself a Trinity Hall man by training and a Norfolk man by birth. They both submitted and abjured. Arthur lived unmolested till 1532, when he died.* Bilney was imprisoned till 1529. He was then free and back in Cambridge for a time; but the sense of wrong-doing in his abjuration gave him no peace, and one night he told his friends in Trinity Hall 'that he must needs go to Jerusalem.' He left the College and preached in the fields in Norfolk, reiterating his old teaching against saint and image worship and insisting on faith and repentance. He was shortly arrested, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burnt near Norwich on August 19, 1531. He heard Mass, confessed, and received absolution, before his death. He was so amiable and innocent that his death excited much commiseration, and had he lived but a few years longer his very shadowy heresies would have hardly been noticed, when Henry's crusade against images had begun. His opinions on justification, so far as they were formulated, were not very different from those of Reginald Pole. His Bible, annotated by himself, is in the Corpus College Library.

Bilney had suffered under the judgment of another Trinity Hall man, much older than himself, and belong-

* Arthur was author of an early tragedy, *Microcosmos*.

ing by birth and education almost to the period of the Wars of the Roses, when society in England was deeply corrupted. This was Richard Nykke, who was Bishop of Norwich from 1500 to 1536, and had been Lord Keeper for a short time in 1500. He is violently abused by Reformers, perhaps justly, but he was a benefactor to the College. He founded by his will three Fellowships and a scholarship. Two at least of these Fellowships must have been established by the date of Parker's visitation in 1546 to make up the number of ten which he found existing. Of Nykke's Fellows, two were to be Canonists, one a civilian. The former were to be ordained priests within a year. For his *obit* he left 3s. 4d. to the Master, 2s. to every Fellow, 8d. to every Scholar, and 13s. 4d. for an entertainment.

Another benefaction of Henry VIII.'s reign was Spicer's Scholarship, a gift by the Rev. William Spicer, Rector of Balcomb, Sussex, of £46 6s. 8d. to support a scholar out of Cuckfield School, Sussex, which he founded in 1528, to be chosen by the counsel of the Rector of Balcomb and the Vicar of Cuckfield, or, failing such a choice, from Clare Hall or St. Catherine's Hall in that order. The scholar was to receive as others, 6s. 8d. in addition, and lectures free.* Gardiner himself left £100 by will to the College.

Gardiner's Mastership saw also the completion of the acquisition of all but a very small part of the present precincts of the College. It will be remembered that the land as acquired in the fourteenth century was bounded by the north wall of the north side of the

* Warren's and other lists of benefactions misspell Cuckfield as Tokefield.

chief court. Henry VI.'s extensive alterations when he founded King's had led to the shutting up of some of the lanes from Milne Street to the river south of Clare. To make amends to the town and to secure them from further obstruction, he had acquired and conveyed to them 'Hennably,' the garden and waste ground between Trinity Hall to the south and Michael House to the north, through which a public right-of-way ran down to the Garret Hostel Bridge under the College wall, and down which the townsfolk's cattle and pack-horses, perhaps carts, used to pass and loiter, causing that wear and tear of the stonework there which necessitated the brick patching of the wall which we now see. This ground, abutting to the east on Milne Street, to the west on the King's Ditch—that is, the backwater out of the river which the Trinity Hall gutter or ditch joined—16 score feet long, 36 feet broad at each end, and 55 feet broad in the middle, was acquired by the College from the town on September 12, 1544.* The College undertook to make a lane to the river through or near the ground, and to enable them to do so at less inconvenience to themselves they bought from Michael House, on April 16, 1545, an additional strip of ground to the north of Hennably, once part of Garret Hostel, 296 feet long by 20 feet wide.† On the north side of this they opened a lane, now Garret Hostel Lane, 10 feet wide, and built south of the lane the clunch wall still standing. The ground between the lane and the College was laid out as the Fellows' garden. Subsequently it was divided by a wall, and the east end was known as the Fellows', the west as the Master's, garden.‡

* Trinity Hall Treasury, Site No. 12. † *Ibid.*, Site No. 14.
‡ Plan in Library, 1731.

As part, in fact, of the same transaction, on September 20, 1544, the College bought from the town a strip of land 170 feet by 30 feet between Hennably and the river, along the north-west side of their existing grounds.* This was thrown into the garden, or 'College Backside,' as it was called. It may be as well to finish here the story of the site. One small strip more, outside the wall which enclosed this last acquisition, was given by the town in 1769 on consideration of the College paying half the repairs of Garret Hostel Bridge. This last piece was never thrown into the rest of the garden, but part of it was fenced off by an iron railing, the broken-off spikes of which have since adorned many undergraduates' rooms—*meminisse pudor*.† The repairs of Garret Hostel Bridge were never a charge upon the College by right, but as it was a convenience to Trinity Hall to have the bridge close to them in a good state, they paid half on this occasion. In 1627 and 1647 Trinity and Trinity Hall had both contributed to its repair. In 1814 and 1821 it was again rebuilt of timber, Trinity Hall contributing. Finally, in 1837, it was rebuilt of iron, Trinity, Trinity Hall and Caius all contributing.‡ The bridge is not beautiful, but at any rate it has stood up since then.

These acquisitions were a distinct gain to the College, setting the public right-of-way further off and preventing Trinity College, which the King was about to found, from pressing too closely upon Trinity Hall from the north. We may probably recognise in them the hand

* See Willis and Clark, i. 214, who say that the deed is in Baker MSS., xxvii. 327. It is not in the Trinity Hall Treasury.

† The first boat in 1873 knocked off several of them, I am told.

‡ Cooper's *Annals*, iii. 198, iv. 503, etc.

of the Bishop of Winchester then at the height of his influence.

Lastly, to conclude the story of this most momentous Mastership, there remain, of a date shortly after its close, January 22, 1557, lists of books, plate, debts and leases, belonging to the College, which exhibit practically the state of the College property under Gardiner's rule; he was not dead fifteen months when the inventory was made. It is of the same date as Pole's visitation of the University, whether made in consequence of that or not.

The list is printed as an appendix. The leases in it—these are no 'dettes,' though they appear in the heading—are nearly all for long terms, twenty-one or thirty years, or for life. These were, of course, beneficial leases. The later practice of shorter leases at a rack rental dates from the eighteenth century, from about the time when the loss of Doctors' Commons, a matter which is briefly noticed below, threatened the College with a diminution of income.

But profit and loss, books and leases, are small matters compared with the position of Trinity Hall men in the government of England then. At one time Gardiner was Lord Chancellor; Paget in the Council—he was Privy Seal later; Lord Howard of Effingham was the High Admiral, and was in the Council; and Thirlby was engaged in most important diplomatic business. Another Trinity Hall Lord Chancellor, Wriothesley, was but lately dead; a future Trinity Hall Archbishop-designate, May, was living. The Government, of which the first four formed an important part, was not a great or successful one, but they combined most of the ability and a fair share of what honesty there was in it.

CHAPTER V

HENRY HARVEY'S MASTERSHIP AND THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

GARDINER had, perhaps, kept his Mastership under Edward VI. for almost a year after he had lost the bishopric of Winchester. He was deprived not later than February, 1552, for Walter Haddon, LL.D., of King's, Regius Professor of Civil Law, was appointed to succeed him in February of that year. He was a layman, the first lay Master. His connexion with Trinity Hall, however, was very short, for at Michaelmas in the same year he was moved on to be President of Magdalen, Oxford, and William Mowse, LL.D., succeeded him at Trinity Hall. Haddon, like so many civilians, did diplomatic service under Elizabeth. He was sent on a commercial mission to Bruges to regulate trade relations in 1565.* Mowse, who was in Orders, was a thorough-going time-server in religion. He accepted the Mastership of Trinity Hall under Edward, retired in favour of Gardiner under Queen Mary, and by his compliance, no doubt, secured the reversion of the

* Haddon was also Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1558-59, under the Act 37 H. VIII., c. 17, allowing laymen to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Mastership when Gardiner died in 1555. During the interval he had been solaced by the post of Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. He was made Advocate of the Court of Canterbury by Pole in 1556, and was admitted a member of the College of Advocates in 1557. He gave up the Mastership before or very soon after Elizabeth's accession, but, there is scarcely a doubt, was not deprived from any unwillingness on his part to take the oaths. He became Vicar-General of Canterbury and Dean of the Arches on May 20, 1559.* He had already, on December 12, 1558, accepted the living of Greensnorton in Northamptonshire, and in 1559 became a Prebendary of Southwell. He was Rector of East Dereham in Norfolk in 1560, and acted as a judge on an Admiralty Commission in 1564.

However, for some reason he ceased to be Master of Trinity Hall before the earliest part of 1559, and whenever he relinquished the post Henry Harvey, LL.D., of Trinity Hall, succeeded to it. Ultimately Harvey also succeeded as Dean of the Arches before 1568.†

* *Sede Vacante* Register of 1559, ff. 2, 3, in the Cathedral Library, Canterbury.

† The succession of the Trinity Hall Masters is curiously uncertain at this period. Dr. Caius does not mention Mowse's second Mastership. Fuller is positive of it; Warren believed it; Strype says that Mowse succeeded Gardiner (Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 575); College records are non-existent at the period. The writer of the article 'Mowse' in the *Dictionary of National Biography* accepts Mowse's second Mastership, but is certainly wrong in saying that he was deprived in 1559, and in implying that it was because he refused the oaths to Elizabeth. Cooper's *Athenæ* is wrong on this latter point too. Strype is the authority for it; but Mowse had ceased to be Master before the Act of Supremacy was passed. The oaths were tendered in Cambridge in September, 1559. By the words of the Act of Parliament (*vide infra*) passed between January 23 and May 8, 1559, it is clear that Henry Harvey was the Master of Trinity Hall. But when did he become such? If I may

Harvey was a Trinity Hall man of Gardiner's days. He was a Bachelor of Laws in 1538, Doctor in 1542. He was an advocate in practice in London after 1550, and was Vicar-General to Ridley in London and to Cranmer at Canterbury. He was in Orders, being Archdeacon of Middlesex in April, 1551. He had no difficulty, apparently, in holding the preferment under changed conditions, and, as lucky as Mowse, was accepted by all parties in turn. He vacated the archdeaconry only in April, 1554, some time after Bonner had been restored to London *vice* Ridley deprived. Bonner then made him Precentor of St. Paul's. Pole, however, deprived him of his vicar-generalship of Canterbury in 1555. This was from no doubt of his theological position, for he was made a Commissioner in the same year for detecting heretics and heretical books in Cambridge. In 1557, when Pole's delegates visited the University, Harvey was one of the four doctors who bore the canopy over the Host in the solemn procession of February 8 to the University Church from King's Chapel. Preferments flowed in upon him under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and he held prebendal stalls at Salisbury, Southwell, and Lichfield. We are compelled, in charity, to suppose that before the rigid definitions of the Council of Trent

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hazard a suggestion, I should say at the end of 1556 or beginning of 1557. The inventory of College property, plate, and books, printed in the Appendix, bearing date January, 1557, looks rather like a document made at the time of some change. Mowse may have contemplated a career as an Ecclesiastical Judge when he was made Advocate of the Canterbury Court by Pole, and was admitted a member of the College of Advocates in 1556 and 1557. We must remember that the Mastership was worth nothing to speak of, and offered small attractions to a man who did not want to reside in Cambridge.

had been finally promulgated men must have been able to regard many questions as not matters *de fide*. But his sense of duty to the law must have been strong when in 1559 he became a Commissioner under Elizabeth to visit the Northern dioceses and cathedrals, and was made Vicar-General of Ely. In 1560 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University, in 1567 a Canon of Ely, in 1568 a Master in Chancery. In 1570 he assisted to reform the statutes of the University, displaying a consistently anti-Puritan bias, and it is no wonder that the Puritan leaders in the University complained of him 'that he hath scarce chosen one Protestant Fellow these twelve years.' He probably considered himself a consistent Anglo-Catholic. Whatever may be thought of his consistency in ecclesiastical questions, there is no doubt that he was a capable and beneficent head of the College, which he may be said to have re-established upon a firm basis again after the threatening storms of the Reformation. So that with regard to Trinity Hall the Elizabethan was also the Harveian settlement.

Not only was Harvey in the truest sense a *Custos*, a guardian: he was also a benefactor and a builder, and his administration of the Mastership was marked by some bold and well-devised measures for the assurance of the position of the College as the one especial school of the Civil and Canon Laws in England. In the first place, he desired that it should be protected against any such danger of amalgamation and obliteration as had threatened it under Edward VI. For this purpose the College was protected by means which are at any rate uncommon, if not unique in the history of learned societies. He procured an Act of Parlia-

ment* confirming the original foundation. It recites the original words of the foundation by Bishop Bateman, declares that the College has always been known as the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the College or Hall of the Holy Trinity; and

'forasmuche as yf cavillacion shulde at any time hereafter be had or used upon the simple wordes of that tyme, some question or doubt might aryse of the validitie of the Corporacion of the said Colledge or Hall, and thereupon daunger or hurte might growe as well to the said Colledge, as also to divers and sundrie personnes, who have heretofore received, and which hereafter shall receive gyftes, grauntes, or leases of the said College or Hall. For avoiding of which inconvenyencys, and for the sure establishment both of the Corporacion of the said College, and of all other men's rights and interests,' etc.,

All grants, etc., to or by the College were recognised and confirmed, and the rights of the College as a distinct corporate body under its accustomed name fully recognised. That the Act was due to Harvey's interest with people in power, or at least reflects their interest in him, appears from the careful guarding of his own rights as Master in it in these words: 'And that they shall have one common Seale, and that one Henry Harvye, Doctour of the Civill Lawe, now Mayster of the said Colledge, be Mayster of the said Colledge.'

It would almost seem, from the insistence upon the name of the College or Hall, that there must have been some jealousy of or on behalf of the newly founded Trinity College. At any rate, in the days so soon after

* Enacted in Elizabeth's first Parliament, which sat from January 23 to May 8, 1559. It was printed in 1852 by order of the University Commissioners in Documents, etc., of the University (vol. ii., p. 439).

those in which ancient foundations had perished or been recast in such numbers, and when the pious Founder was commonly so lightly regarded, it was no small advantage to the College to be protected by a special Act, over and above ancient charters, though of undoubted validity. Harvey was not content with establishing the position of his College in Cambridge. If it were to be worthy of its place as a training-school for Civilians and Canonists, whose sphere of action extended into diplomacy and politics, or whose judicial abilities might be utilized in the Admiralty Courts or in Diocesan Courts all over England, it must have some connexion with the world of London. A small College in Cambridge could no longer hope to be an influential body in two large professions in the outer world unless it could influence some organization in the centre of national life. Harvey turned his eye upon the Civilians and Canonists practising in London and Westminster, many of them Trinity Hall men, and proceeded to complete their organization, which had already been begun, and to bring them into close union with his College. The consequent establishment of Doctors' Commons is another singular point in College life belonging to the history of Trinity Hall. No other College in Oxford or Cambridge ever attempted, I believe, to establish a society in London, as a voluntary College, for the carrying out in practice in the great world of those studies which the College professed in the academic life.

Earlier in the century, not later than November, 1511,* the ecclesiastical lawyers living in London, who no doubt envied their brethren of the Common Law

* See Coote, *The English Civilians.*

and Chancery their Inns of Court, determined to club together, so as not to be confounded among the ordinary mass of lay people. Under the presidency of Dr. Richard Bodewell, Dean of the Arches, they formed a voluntary association, to live together after the manner of a College, paying a fixed contribution for board and lodging. They styled themselves the College of Doctors and Advocates of the Court of the Arches. Other people, neither Doctors nor Advocates, were permitted to join by subscription as Collegiate Commoners. Many members of Trinity Hall were necessarily included among them. Among the early admissions was that of Dr. Sampson, Fellow of Trinity Hall, subsequently Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and President of Wales. He joined March 20, 1514-15. It is not known where they lived together in the earlier days. Subsequently they were in Paternoster Row. In 1567, however, Harvey, the Master, Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury, and President of this society, procured for his own College in Cambridge the lease, for ninety-nine years, from the Chapter of St. Paul's, of Mountjoy House, and adjacent buildings in the parish of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, for only £5 8s. a year, owing to the great decay and dilapidation of the house, and quartered the Doctors and Advocates there. This place was henceforth known as Doctors' Commons. It became the centre not only of abode, but of business. The Court of the Arches, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the Court of the Bishop of London, and the Admiralty Court, except for criminal cases, sat there. The Dean of the Arches was President always of Doctors' Commons. But the Master and Fellows of

Trinity Hall, even when the Master was not Dean, which he so often was, had control over the buildings and apportioned chambers.* The Master of Trinity Hall had a right to chambers there for nothing. As was inevitable, married men were allowed to be members, but no wives or children were allowed to share the board and lodgings. The association was not incorporated so far, but had something of the influence of a corporation, and tried with some success to confine practice in the Ecclesiastical Courts to members of its own body. Considering the general attitude of the Civilians towards the question of royal prerogative, it is rather surprising that they were not incorporated by James I. or Charles I. But they were regarded with jealousy both by the common lawyers and by the clergy of both the Puritan and of the Laudian schools. In the reign of Charles I. they petitioned without success that no Chancellor of a diocese should be appointed from outside their own body, objecting to clerical Chancellors as untrained in the law. The King's refusal to comply was probably prompted by Laud, who was certainly desirous to keep ecclesiastical jurisdiction in clerical hands. Trinity Hall was, in fact, too small in numbers to keep complete control of the great dependency which its Master had planned. Had Bateman's original scheme been carried out, and his twenty Fellows been increased by subsequent foundations, it is possible that the whole business of the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts might have been practically controlled by Trinity Hall. As it was, though the

* See below, p. 148, Cromwell's letter about Dr. Dorislaus, and the record of the lawsuit of 1728 in the Miscell. Papers, vol. iii., in the College Library.

Hall men were numerous for the size of the College among both Presidents and members of the association, they were outnumbered by men of other Colleges. Still, Doctors' Commons continued to exist through the Civil Wars and onwards as an appanage of the College. But it is clear that the too-great colony revolted from the mother College. There was a clause in the lease by which it was to be renewed continually, with a nominal rent and a small fine, making it, in fact, a perpetual lease; and the Doctors seem to have assumed that their interests were not sufficiently guarded. They regarded the College as a trustee for themselves; the College seems to have considered that the Doctors were merely its tenants. Legal proceedings began under the Commonwealth, and went on for three-quarters of a century. It was contended that the clause for renewing the lease was illegal under a statute of Elizabeth. The Great Fire introduced a complication, and, for a time, till Mountjoy House was rebuilt, the Doctors ceased to be tenants of the College, or Chapter, and clearly wished to cease from being such altogether. The Chapter, too, had their grievance against the Doctors; declaring that they did not get their legal assistance for nothing, as they said the original lease provided. In 1728 Dr. Bettesworth, Dean of the Arches, and the Doctors, carried an appeal before the House of Lords against the College and the Chapter, and the end of a complicated series of suits was that the College was put in the position of a tenant with a terminable lease, being allowed forty years more from that date, a fairly liberal allowance.*

* Trinity Hall Miscell. Papers, vol. iii. *Brown's Parliamentary Cases*, i. 240.

To finish the story, in 1768 Trinity Hall surrendered its lease of the buildings to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the Doctors, incorporated by George III. with this object, bought the estate for themselves, being enabled to do so by a royal grant of £3,000 out of the *droits* of Admiralty. They were incorporated under the style of the College of Doctors of Law Exerceant in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. Hereafter they admitted no members except regular Doctors of Civil Law in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, excluding those who had obtained a Doctor's degree merely *honoris causa*. The year 1856 saw the abolition of the rules of the Civil Law in any English Courts, and the end of the *raison d'être* of Doctors' Commons. They surrendered their charter of incorporation to the Crown, were dissolved as a society, and the Ecclesiastical Courts were thrown open to the whole Bar. One of the last of the Doctors, Dr. Deane, has died in the present year (1902). In one point Harvey was short-sighted, though we cannot blame him. Had he bought the freehold originally, and had the College not parted with it till these days, it would have made Trinity Hall one of the richest Colleges in either University.

Harvey was also the author of several alterations in the buildings of the College. In the book among the College documents called 'Old Vellum Book,' though no longer bound in vellum, are notes which Warren believes to be in Harvey's own hand. The first relates to the taking in of Hennably in 1545, above mentioned, three years after Harvey took his LL.D. degree.

The second is: 'Anno Dñi 1562 ye west bay window in ye Hall was sett up.' This oriel window was pulled down when the hall was rebuilt in Italian style in 1743-45.

The third note is: 'Anno Dñi 1563 ye stable was sett up wher it is. And ye same yere ye chambers and buildyng our ye botery and pantrie, ye entrie into ye ketchyn, and our ye ketchyn. ye larder and inner botrie was buylded,' etc.

The fourth note refers to the throwing out of the wall on the north of the garden to enclose the land acquired there in 1544, and the building of the cross wall to shut off the stables from this garden. This was done in 1569. As this wall came from the corner of the Library, and the Library is not mentioned by Harvey, it probably did not exist in 1569.

The third entry is interesting. The kitchen and offices and rooms over them had existed long before in the same place, but Harvey evidently rebuilt them, as their windows and gables, and the style of the door from near the kitchen into the court in Loggan's view show. The stables which he built in the bend of the wall of Garret Hostel Lane continued standing there till 1889. Some additions were made to them in the middle of the nineteenth century. The old building was of red brick and lath and plaster. There were 'fern markings' in the plaster of the east gable characteristic of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The rafters were over-large for the size of the roof, and from the numerous mortices in them appeared to have been part of an older building. In the boundary wall between Garret Hostel Lane and the College, against which the stables were built, were many moulded church stones, chiefly portions of window mullions, piers, door and window jambs; some were in quite late Perpendicular style. Part of the kitchen wall, opened about 1882-83, contained similar stones. One richly-worked canopy

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

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with colours still fresh, from the boundary wall, and some other stones from the kitchen wall, are now preserved in the antechapel. The most probable source for these and for the rafters of the stable is the second Church of St. John's, which Dr. Caius calls ruinous just after the time of Harvey's building.

Harvey seems also to have built an overhanging timber first-floor and attic to the ground-floor south wing of the Lodge already existing, and to have extended the north front into a wing westward, making a long gallery for entertainments such as the times loved. Such a gallery is the constant adjunct of a Tudor house of any pretensions, copied from Italy. Quite after the Italian fashion, Harvey's gallery is along the north side, sheltered from the sun. This was very well in Italy, hardly so suitable in England. The gallery was 54 feet 6 inches long and 10 feet 6 inches wide. It was widened subsequently. It was supported on open cloisters till Dr. Geldart's alterations in 1852. Harvey also fitted up the Lodge with oak panelling and ceilings, which he left to succeeding Masters in his will.* No wonder that Dr. Caius says: 'Dilatavit istic ædificia eaque multo ornatiora et ampliora perfecit.'†

A yet greater addition and ornament to the College is just possibly, but not probably, attributable to him, the Library. It was perhaps built just after his time. The Library is among the most curious buildings in Cambridge; it occupies the whole of the upper floor of a wing running westward from the kitchen and offices. It is 65 feet long and 20 feet broad. At some period,

* See Willis and Clark, i. 223. Harvey's will is copied in Baker MSS., iii. 318.

† Caius, *Hist. Cant. Academ.*, p. 63.

possibly before Loggan's view was taken in 1688,* and certainly before a plan dated 1731, now in the Library, was made, a wall was built from the west end of the Master's Lodge across to the Library, with a passage along the top which entered the Library by a door, the marks of which are still visible between the second and third windows, counting from the west. The other and original entrance to the Library was by a door in the east end, still visible from the window at the head of the stairs which lead to the old Combination-Room, the present ante-room of the Library. This was approached by an outside staircase. The original desks stand in the Library; they are between 4 and 5 feet high, projecting at right angles to the walls between the eight windows on either side. There was originally one high shelf for books on them, and above that a sloping desk. The books were chained. Some of the iron staples to which they were fastened still remain with chains attached, though the latter are perhaps restored. The staple was locked to the desk, but the librarian could unlock the fastening and by raising a hasp draw out the staple and take the chains off it. The ordinary reader could only consult the chained books by placing them on the sloping desk while he stood to read, or by carrying them, as the length of the chain allowed, to seats between the desks and opposite the windows for the sake of light.†

The original Library is said by Warren, from tradition, to have been in the rooms at the east end of the

* This wall seems to be indicated by Loggan, but not quite in the right place. He was anxious to avoid hiding the garden by it, so put it too far east.

† The bookshelves have been added to, but the original part is generally visible enough.

Chapel, over the passage between the two courts. Obviously, not more than two such desks as here described could have stood there, for want of room. They were, therefore, made for the new Library. It is unknown exactly when it was built. The style proclaims Elizabeth's reign or thereabouts. Professor Willis hazarded *circa* 1600. It was not, pretty evidently, a building of Harvey's before he made his note about the new wall in 1569. There is no indication of it in his will. The library of books, as it is represented in 1557, is not very large, though books in those days were bigger than they are now, and their carefully-guarded method of consultation required plenty of room. Archbishop Parker by his will—he died in 1575—left some books to Trinity Hall, and made arrangements whereby in certain contingencies his great collection of MSS. might be transferred from his own College (Corpus) to Trinity Hall. This would draw the attention of the College to a possible need of a new Library. There is no record of any further increase in the number of books till after the will of Dr. Mowse, in 1586, who made a bequest of books to the College, to which his executor, Mr. Hare, added some others of value in or about 1599. If the new Library was built to house this larger collection of volumes, the date would agree with that suggested by Professor Willis. Be that as it may, the hand of the restorer, which fell so heavily upon so much of the College, has mercifully spared the Library, which retains its primitive character more completely than any other in Cambridge.* It is still as near an approach to an

* I am not aware when the wall and passage connecting the Master's Lodge with the Library were removed. It may have been done when extensive changes were contemplated in the whole west front in 1745, or when Sir William Wynne, Master, altered the Lodge in 1804.

Elizabethan library as we can show in England. The west end of the Library butside bears the College arms as they have been emblazoned since 1575, and the same are in the window to the west.

A new grant of arms was a doubtful benefit which Harvey procured for the College. He considered that the corporation, fortified by an Act of Parliament, would be still further distinguished by its own coat. The care was unnecessary, for it had a fair right to its Founder's arms already, which appear at the foot of the emblem of the Holy Trinity on the ancient seal. Bateman's paternal arms were: sable, a crescent ermine. After episcopal custom he bore the coat with a difference, encircling the field with a bordure engrailed argent. As no posterity of a Bishop, if such existed, could have a right to his arms, these could be properly borne by his foundation. On the request of Dr. Harvey, however, a grant of arms was made, bearing date September 17, 1575, by Robert Cooke, Esq., Clarencieux. It was a dark age of heraldry, and Clarencieux was not skilful in his science. He recites that the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity Hall, 'not willing to prejudice any other foundation,' wished for a grant. This is nonsense, for no other foundation bore Bateman's arms. However, he granted sable, a crescent and bordure ermine. He further ridiculously added a crest, to which no College could properly pretend, 'upon a helmet on a wreath argent and sable a lion sejant gules, holding a book, the cover sable, the leaves or, mantled gules, dobled argent.' Trinity Hall was not singular in its misfortune. Fifteen years earlier Norroy had granted Caius an absurd coat. But the grant was confirmed by letters patent under the Great Seal, and by the Heralds' visita-

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

CHAINED BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY

tions of 1575 and 1684, so that these are now the College arms.* Careless drawing has often introduced further vagaries. The bordure is perhaps more often than not represented as both engrailed and ermine. In the Founder's arms it is engrailed and argent, in this latter coat plain and ermine, but never properly both engrailed and ermine. Popular opinion among undergraduates of late years has even made the crescent argent. The general impression of black and white conveyed by the arms has been beneficial in helping to check extravagance of hue in dress among the members of a College who are particular in displaying their College colours. A Joseph's coat is incompatible with a black and white tie and hat-ribbon.

The versatile Dr. Harvey was active in yet another direction. The roads of England were everywhere detestable in those days, and a not uncommon form of benefaction was to provide for the maintenance of some road in which a testator was interested. In his lifetime Harvey at his own expense made, or repaired, the causeway from Cambridge towards Quy on the Newmarket road. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says that he made it 'for the more convenience of passengers in those dirtie ways, so that his bounty hath made summer for them in the depth of winter.' While superintending his workmen 'a noble person' encountered him, and said, 'Doctor, you think that this causeway is the high-road to heaven,' reflecting upon the zeal for good works of a man not beyond suspicion of Catholic leanings. 'Not so, sir,' said the Master, 'for then I

* The original grant is said to have disappeared from the College about 1864, but Warren copied it.

should not have met you in this place.'* He directed by his will that Cotton Hall Manor and other lands were to be sold, and the proceeds invested in lands worth £17 a year, which were to go to the College on condition of its spending £8 a year on his causeway 'from the paper mills to Quy,' and £1 on the overseer of the works; £3 a year was to be paid to the poor of Bishop Stortford, and £3 to the poor of Littlebury, near Saffron Walden, of which latter place he was Rector. He had studied something more than the general convenience in making his causeway, for he owned property himself at Newmarket, the Angel Inn, which it was his interest to make accessible from Cambridge. The first five miles of the road to Quy, along the edge of the Fens, were likely to be the most in want of care. The movement for making the College a highway authority was continued in the will of Dr. Mowse, who died shortly after Harvey, who died February 20, 1585, while Mowse's will was dated May 30, 1586. Mowse left his residue to Mr. Robert Hare to bestow at discretion for road repairs; 'in viis publicis regiis seu communibus in et circa villam Cantabrigiam prædictam reparandis et emendandis et de tempore in tempus meliorandis in perpetuum.'† The residue amounted to £1,000. Hare added £600, his own and others' charity, and bought the Walpole estate, to be applied to mend highways 'circa villam nostram Cantabrigiam præcipue versus Barkway'—that is, towards London. The Duke of Stettin, going from London to Cambridge in 1602, dined at mid-day at Barkway, and

* Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, sect. viii. Fuller says that he was causelessly suspected of Roman Catholic leanings, but his sympathies were at least Catholic.

† 'Clasped Book' in library.

came on to Cambridge in the afternoon by this road.* The estate was conveyed to the College August 8, 1599. Warren says that in his time it was worth £80 a year. In 1724 there was passed a Cambridge and Foulmire Turnpike Act, which contained a special clause that nothing in the Act was to interfere with this trust. The Trinity Hall arms upon the milestones along the road still recall the benefaction and its obligations. The intentions of the Founders were charitable, and if they have since smoothed the way for students of the University to Newmarket, and afterwards on their road down from Cambridge, it should not be allowed to outweigh the benefits conferred. A trust for public purposes put into the hands of a corporation, existing already for quite different objects, is a curious survival now. The College is, happily, not responsible for the keeping up of the roads beyond the amount brought in by the property, but still pays for labour and materials upon the roads, and upon many of the footpaths about Cambridge.

* Journal of the Duke of Stettin's journey, printed for the Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1892.

CHAPTER VI

FROM ELIZABETH TO CHARLES I.

HARVEY died, as we have said, February 20, 1585, and was succeeded by Thomas Preston, of King's, LL.D., who was Vice-Chancellor in 1589. He was a favourite of Elizabeth's, who called him 'my scholar.'* Nevertheless, no one could expect to be a favourite of Elizabeth's for nothing. On September 27, 1588, she wrote to the Master and Fellows charging them, if they wished to please her, to grant a lease of their property at Mutford to Porphyry Bowes, 'our servant and one of our Gentlemen Pensioners.' She does not specify on what terms, but, of course, the lease would be framed to suit the tenant in such a case. Similarly, early in the next reign the great Bacon wrote to the College asking them 'to consider in a friendly way' the case of Mr. Hammond, tenant of freehold and copyhold in Mouldon (Moulton in Norfolk), 'affording Mr. Hammond the accustomed kyndness of Colledges to their tenants.'

* The title is commemorated on his tomb in the Chapel:

'Conderis hoc tumulo Thoma Prestone, Scholarem
Quem dixit princeps Elizabetha suum.'

The accustomed 'kyndness' was no doubt shown when those who might not be denied asked for it.*

Dr. Preston was the author of a tragedy called *Cambyses*, and was the only dramatic author among our Masters—*omnia si sic*, a deficiency not to be deplored. Shakespeare and his audience knew *Cambyses*, the title of which calls it 'A lamentable Tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth'; for Falstaff says†: 'Give me a cup of sack to make mine eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I will speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein.' . . . 'Weep not, sweet Queen, for trickling tears are vain.' The reference to Preston's stage direction, 'At this tale told let the Queen weep,' is surely unmistakable. *Cambyses* is in sooth 'very tragical mirth.' But Preston owed much of his fortune to his triumphs on the stage. As a young King's Bachelor in 1564, he acted in the play of *Dido* before the Queen when she visited Cambridge, and, strange doubling of parts, disputed in philosophy with Cartwright, the Puritan Lady Margaret Professor, and so pleased Her Grace in both rôles that she gave him a pension of £20 a year. In 1576 he took his LL.D., and was really made Master of Trinity Hall by Elizabeth's direction. There is no reason to suppose that he did worse as Master than some of the other persons did in higher spheres to which they were promoted by the Queen on equally eccentric grounds. Preston was a married man, on the evidence of his tombstone,‡ the first married Master of Trinity Hall. His wife was not allowed to live in the Lodge, if the Queen's injunctions

* The letters are in Miscell. Papers, vol. ii. in the College Library.

† *Henry IV.*, I. ii. 4.

‡ It records that 'Alicia uxor charissima posuit.'

were obeyed; she forbade wives to be taken into Colleges.

As Vice-Chancellor he received a letter from the Council, that all-controlling body which regulated the trivial details of private life and the policy of the kingdom with the same industry, dated March 18, 1589-90, which reminds us how the policy of Elizabeth struggled against certain changes in spite of her ecclesiastical attitude in great matters. It is to charge him to provide against the eating of meat in Lent and on prohibited days:

'We have thought good to send the said orders unto you and to require you that you will cause the same to be observed in the towne of Cambridge; and that there be only one butcher permitted to kill and utter fleshe for such as are diseased and have license to eate the same according to thes orders sett downe and devysed by us for that respect.'*

There was economy in not eating flesh in Lent, when all cattle, in the absence of artificial winter feeding, were very poor in condition. As Thomas Tusser, the Trinity Hall man, author of the *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, put it:

'Let Lent, well kept, offend not thee,
For March and April breeders be;
Spend herring first, save salt fish last,
For salt fish is good when Lent is past.'

Tusser, however, was dead before this Order of the Council; he died in 1580. He celebrated Trinity Hall in verse, which deserves to be remembered for the sentiment, if not for the style. Thomas Tusser, after

* Baker MSS., xiv. 203, quoted in Cooper's *Memorials*.

being a singing boy at St. Paul's, was sent to Eton, and elected to King's in 1542. Thence he migrated to Trinity Hall, perhaps on the recommendation of Lord Paget, the Trinity Hall man who befriended him. He celebrates Trinity Hall, not King's, as his College, and writes of himself after leaving Eton:

'To London hence, to Cambridge thence,
With thanks to thee, O Trinity!
That to thy Hall, so passing all,
I got at last.
There joy I felt, there trim I dwelt,
There heaven from hell I shifted well,
With learned men, a number then,
The time I past.'

He left Cambridge and took to farming. He instructed others, but failed himself as a practical farmer. He complains of high rents and heavy fines. He was not a tenant of the College. The son of his first patron, the second Lord Paget, who was his protector, fell into disgrace himself as a Romanist, and the plague being in London, whither he had removed, Tusser again sought refuge in Cambridge, being entered as 'a servant' at Trinity Hall in 1574. He may have been singing clerk in the chapel and at St. Edward's. He felt himself again in a haven of refuge, and writes:

'When gains were gone and years grew on,
And death did cry, from London fly,
In Cambridge then I found again
A resting plot;
In College best, of all the rest,
With thanks to thee, O Trinity!
Through thee and thine, for me and mine,
Some stay I got!'

But he must needs try his fortune again in London, and died there a prisoner for debt. The most fluent versifier among farmers since Virgil, wise in his advice to others, and most unlucky in the application of his own maxims, his name must always be loved in the College of his choice.

A far more noted poet than Tusser, in the judgment of his own time, was Gabriel Harvey. He was a Fellow of Pembroke in 1570, but quarrelled with the College—he quarrelled with many people—and was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall in 1578. There he was supposed to study law, for Spenser wrote to him: 'If happly you dwell altogither in Justinian's courte, and give yourselfe to be devoured of secreate studies, as of likelyhood yoe doe.' The principal claim to remembrance which has rescued Gabriel Harvey from oblivion is that he was the friend and counsellor of Spenser. The great poet had been at Pembroke with Harvey from 1569 till 1576. Harvey was at first considered far the greater man in the literary world. He wrote English poems and Latin verses, and tried hard to frame English words to classical models of metre.

Spenser even says that he likes his late English hexameters exceedingly well, which makes out Spenser to be a worse critic than we should have expected, unless it is the exaggeration of friendship. Harvey, for instance, could put forth the following as an elegiac couplet:

'That which I eate did I ioy, and that which I greedily gorged;
As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others.'

These are what he considered hexameters:

'What might I call this tree? A Laurell? O bonny Laurell;
Needes to thy bowes will I bow this knee, and vayle my bonetto'!

It is curious to find the framer of the Spenserian stanza asking for the rules by which such stuff could be composed. Harvey thought but little of the *Faerie Queene*, and would have had Spenser take himself for a model.

'If so be,' he wrote, 'the Faery Queene be fairer in your eyes than the Nine Muses, and Hobgoblin runne away with the garland from Apollo; marke what I saye; and yet I will not saye that I thought; but there an end for this once, and fare you well, till God, or some good Aungell, putte you in a better mind.'*

Happily, Spenser neglected Harvey's rules and advice after all, but to him he no doubt owed some of his early interest in classical models. He introduced Harvey as Hobbinol in the *Shepheard's Calendar*, inserted an address to him in it, and owed to him his introduction to Sir Philip Sidney, to whom the poem was dedicated. He also addressed a sonnet to him. Harvey is described by Nashe as making verses while walking under the yew-tree at Trinity Hall; this yew was possibly a predecessor to the fir-tree in the court, drawn in Loggan's view, which was set up in the memory of Dr. Boord (LL.D. 1664), and cut down in 1739.† When Spenser had left Ireland for England between 1589 and 1591, and again between 1595 and 1597, it is most unlikely that he did not visit Harvey. The latter had been actually chosen as Master to succeed Henry Harvey,

* Yet Harvey was capable of appreciating the *Faerie Queene*, and of writing better English verse than his hexameters. See the lines signed 'Hobynoll' prefixed to Spenser's great poem.

† Warren, p. 17.

with whom he claimed a distant connexion, in 1585, but was set aside by royal order for Preston. But it was as Master that he was admitted D.C.L. of Oxford, July 13, 1585.* He was an unsuccessful candidate again at Preston's death. It is fortunate that he was not chosen; he was of an unhappy, quarrelsome temper; he criticised all whom he considered non-classical poets. His controversy with Greene and Nashe became a notorious scandal. Harvey's father was no doubt a respectable rope-maker of Saffron Walden. Greene calls him 'a halter-maker.' On Greene's death Nashe took up the cudgels for his deceased friend. Had he only abused Harvey's hexameters he would have been justified, but it was a little too much to call their author 'a filthy vain foole,' and then, when he wished to make peace with Harvey, to acknowledge 'his abundant schollarship, courteous well-governed behaviour, and ripe experienst judgement.' Harvey was a scholar, but not courteous nor well-governed; he paid back ill words for good and ill; and Nashe returned to the charge with his pamphlet called *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, which is dedicated to 'Richard Lichfield, Barber of Trinity College, Cambridge.' It is one of the last instances of the familiar use of the real name of the College of the Hall of the Holy Trinity. After this last pamphlet the government stopped the controversy in 1599. Harvey's best defence is that Greene and Nashe also abused Shakespeare. He died a very old man in 1630.

A more learned man probably than Gabriel Harvey was resident at Trinity Hall during Henry Harvey's Mastership. This was Henry Howard, second son of the Earl of Surrey the poet who was executed by

* Ox. Univ. Reg., Oxford Hist. Soc., II. i. 349.

Henry VIII. Born in 1540, he was educated from the time of his father's death in 1547 till his grandfather's release from the Tower in 1553 under the care of Fox the martyrologist. After 1553 he was under White, the Marian Bishop subsequently of Lincoln and Winchester, and was page to Gardiner. He was at Cambridge, and graduated M.A. from King's in 1564, but then migrated to Trinity Hall. He was unhappy in his birth and circumstances. His brother, the Duke of Norfolk, perished as a traitor in 1571 for intrigues with the Queen of Scots; he could not himself escape suspicions of intrigues with Mary Stewart; he was accused of having urged on his brother to his destruction. A natural reserve of character was easily developed into dissimulation. There is little doubt that he was a Romanist at heart and found a not quite uncongenial atmosphere in Trinity Hall under Harvey. He had a great reputation for learning, and wrote a treatise on Natural and Moral Philosophy which he dated from Trinity Hall, August 6, 1569.* He was resident in the College in 1573. After living for forty-four years in comparative poverty and in an atmosphere of reserve and suspicion under Elizabeth, he was brought into public life by King James at the age of sixty-four, created Earl of Northampton in 1604, and employed to negotiate the peace with Spain.. He was Lord Privy Seal in 1608, Chancellor of the University in 1612, and First Commissioner of the Treasury the same year. It is no great wonder that he was not a very great success as a statesman. Of course he was suspected as a Romanist. But he sat on the trial of Father Garnet for his connexion with the Gunpowder Plot. Is he, there-

* It is in the Bodleian Library, Arch. D. 113.

fore, to be condemned as inconsistent? Garnet knew of the plot under the seal of confession, and could not reveal it; but he was the more bound to prevent it, and did not do so. A sensible Romanist might well think that he had done the worst injury to his Church thereby. Northampton was a Commissioner to expel Jesuits and Seminary priests in 1604, a more doubtful business for him to undertake, for the charge of secret Catholic sympathies was probably true. In his will he wrote: *In ea fide qua puer natus sum, in eadem senex morior.* This scarcely meant 'in the principles inculcated by Fox.'

The benefactions of this period besides those mentioned were as follows: In 1557 Lawrence Moptyd, formerly Fellow, the Master of Corpus, left £60 for a Scholar, born in the Diocese of Norwich and brought up in the common schools of Ipswich or of Bury. The order for the erection of the scholarship is dated June 18, 1558. The Scholar received £2 13s. 4d. a year. Gabriel Dunne, formerly Abbot of Buckfastleigh, then Canon of St. Paul's, who died December 5, 1558, left £120 for a Scholar, who was to receive 12d. a week, and an annual entertainment on December 6, for which 1s. 8d. was to be allowed for the Master, 1s. for every Fellow, for Dunne's Scholar 2s., and for every other scholar 6d. The order for the erection of the scholarship is on January 30, 1561.

Archbishop Parker, who certainly had had opportunities of judging of the worthiness of various Colleges, founded a scholarship in Civil Law, the Scholar to be elected by preference from Corpus College or Norwich School. He was to receive 1s. 2d. a week. He also left a standing cup of silver gilt, with cover, weighing 16 ounces.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

COLLEGE CUPS: (*a*) PARKER'S; (*b*) BARLOW'S; (*c*) THE FOUNDER'S

These both exist. He left books also, as mentioned. His great bequest of MSS. to Corpus, his own College, was accompanied by the condition of a periodical visitation of the library by Caius and Trinity Hall, and if the conditions of the bequest to Corpus were not observed, the treasures which he had saved from ransacked monastic libraries were to pass to those Colleges. On the occasions of the visitations the Masters and Fellows of the visiting Colleges were to receive 3s. 4d., and the Scholars 1s., each. The bequest is dated August 6, 1569, but he died in 1575. Warren quotes his bequest and regulations. The capital sum devoted to a scholarship seems calculated to bring in about 5 per cent. in the case of Moptyd's and Parker's Scholars; less in the case of Dunne's, for his entertainment does not account for a further capital sum equal to the whole of that of Moptyd's. His benefaction is twice as large, and the emolument of his Scholar nearly the same.

Dr. Busby, LL.D., sometime a Fellow, gave £20 for a common fire on Sundays at dinner and supper from All Saints' (November 1) to Candlemas (February 2). His name was enrolled as that of a benefactor therefore on September 1, 1572. A special grace was said on these Sundays. If, without Dr. Busby's benefaction, they supped in winter with no fire in the Hall, they had reason to be thankful. Dr. Busby also gave £53 6s. 8d. for the benefit of two poor Scholars from the county of Norfolk, who were to receive 6d. a week each when in residence, and to be preferred (*cæteris paribus*) for election as *Scholares de minori forma* of the House—that is, as Scholars in our sense. They were to do the duty of the other Scholars—that is, serve the Fellows in Chapel and at table, read the chapters at meals according to the

custom, and keep exercises; they were also to serve the Master and a Senior Fellow, under whose tuition they were to be, particularly in private. They were to have their tuition and bedchamber gratis. An order was made by the College concerning this, October 1, 1577. These two poor Scholars were very much what was understood by Sizars.

Dr. Harvey, besides his provision for road-mending, gave in his life-time the tenement called the Hand,* and 80 acres of land in Chesterton, for the support of two Scholars, who were to receive 1s. a week while in residence and 'the emoluments of other scholars.' The order concerning this was made December 20, 1562. The College still owns a considerable property in Chesterton. By his will, dated November 1, 1584, in addition to bequests mentioned, he gave 2s. to each Fellow and 5s. to each Bible clerk at his funeral. To Robert Harvey, his nephew, he left the Angel at Newmarket on condition of delivering to the College yearly, between May 1 and August 31, 3 loads of charcoal at 13 sacks to the load, every sack to contain 5 bushels at the least. The charcoal was to be consumed nightly in the Common Parlour, or other common place, at the discretion of the Master, beginning on November 1, and continuing till it was all spent, at the rate of 2 bushels a night, unless the Master otherwise determined. His nephew, however, might compound by paying £3 before May 1

* This is probably the tenement called the 'Sword and Hand' in the College accounts. In 1712, when the Tories were in power, it turned into the 'Duke of Ormond'; in 1714, when George I. was King and Ormond was an attainted Jacobite, it became the 'Sword and Hand' again.

in any year, which was to be spent on 'coals'—that is, charcoal.*

Firing was evidently a serious expense, and Busby and Harvey knew from experience that the Hall and the Combination-Room would be the better for fires not being spared. The members of the College would spend the winter evenings, as a rule, in the 'Common Parlour,' for fires and lights in their chambers were an expensive luxury. Economic needs did much to create the collegiate life, and the growth of opportunities for individual comfort has done much to destroy it. The Combination-Room had been built, or rebuilt, as we have seen, by Harvey. It is now the anteroom to the Library. In those days it had no door into the Library, which, indeed, was probably not built yet, nor had it the marble chimney-piece, added in 1730. It was wainscotted, but with a different wainscot. It was lighted by three lattice windows, one of three lights to the west, two to the north of two lights probably, divided by mullions. It was furnished with tables and forms.† Those who can recall the old Combination-Room, into which this was transformed in 1730, will be glad to try to realize the Hall, which we none of us remember, where that generation dined and supped, and partly lived. The Hall

'has 3 double Windows on each side, one of wch at ye upper end on ye west side is a Bow Window in which stands ye Beaufet, with ye Desk for ye chapter in Latin while at Dinner and Supper. This Hall is divided from ye Butteries by a Passage, and from the last by a Screen of Wood with 2 Doors in it, ye one fronting ye Pantry, y^{e}

* Warren, p. 157. What we call coal is 'sea coal' in that age.

† Vol. iii., Miscellanea, in the Library.

other ye Buttry, and over it a Gallery. The whole is roofed with old Oak Beams, very black and dismal, from ye Charcoal which is burnt in ye middle of ye Hall; and over it in ye middle of ye Roof was [is?] an awkward kind of Cupolo to let out ye Smoak. The Fellows Table stands on an Eminence at ye upper or S. end of ye Hall, with a Door on ye E. Side to go into ye Master's Lodge. The Back of ye Table of ye Fellows had ye Arms of ye College painted pretty high against ye Wall,' [a tapestry representing a Roman Triumph was added by Dr. Eden]. 'The Scholars Tables are on both sides of ye Hall, which is paved with Stone. Over each of ye Portals of ye Screen is this Inscription in large Characters:

'"Benedict Thorowgod LL. Bacch. + hujus Collegii nuper Socius + posuit Año Salts CIↃ. IↃ. XC. IX."'*

Mr. W. Revell, formerly a Fellow, left £20 in 1595 for ceiling the upper end of the Hall with good wainscot, and for two wainscot doors.† But this had, perhaps, not been sufficient for both purposes, or Thorowgood put new doors. He by his will, dated April 13, 1596, bequeathed £43 13s. 4d. for two doors in the screens, and for a fire of 2 bushels of charcoal in the Hall on every working day in November, December, and January.‡ The latter part of the Lent Term, in a cold spring, must still have been comfortless, unless the College was enabled by these benefactions to be extravagant in warming itself then on its own resources. The Hall, so graphically described by Cole just before its renovation or destruction—why did Dante omit to say where he saw restorers?—must have been a pleasant place to recall. Under the 'black and dismal' rafters,

* Cole's MSS., quoted by Willis and Clark, describing the Hall as it was before the eighteenth-century alterations, 1743-45.

† Warren, p. 347. ‡ Baker MSS., iii. 336.

amid the fumes of the charcoal, perhaps in the sweet peat-reek sometimes—for peat, too, was burned in Cambridge very generally—may have sat Edmund Spenser himself, brought in by his friend Harvey on one of his visits to England, with his talk of poetry and romance, and his experiences of Ireland, where the 'salvage knights' of the *Faerie Queene* were to be met in the flesh. With them may have sat Northampton, the son of another poet, reserved and thoughtful, unhappy in the greatness of his birth; or Tusser in his old age, full of homely garrulous wit, advising the Bursar how to manage the estates. The Hall was the scene of no meetings of monastic dulness, we may be sure. Masters and Fellows were so constantly engaged beyond the University in legal, judicial and even diplomatic business, that the stir of the outer world must have been constantly brought in, tempered by the quieting influence of learned leisure. Did they listen to 'the chapter in Latin'? They surely forgot that Latin was to be spoken. In Edward VI.'s reign the practice had decayed in the University. It is possible though they did not talk Latin, except in scholastic exercises, that the Chapel services may have been in Latin. Elizabeth had allowed it at the Universities; the Collect incorporated into one of the Graces in Hall is out of the Latin Prayer-Book of her reign. Just before the Civil Wars it was complained that 'at some of the Cambridge Colleges' the morning and evening prayer was said in Latin, 'so that some young students and the servants of the Colledge doe not understand their prayers.'*

* The Bishop of Lincoln's Committee on Innovations—Heads for consideration. Printed 1641. Quoted by Dr. Shaw, *History of the Church during the Civil Wars*, etc., vol. ii., p. 287.

It is called 'an innovation,' but so are several other practices which are certainly ancient. Dr. Harvey is the sort of man who would have used Latin prayers. One interesting point, at all events, is settled by this complaint, that the College servants attended Chapel down to the Civil War time.

To return to the benefactions: Dr. Mowse's bequest of books, and for the roads, has been mentioned. He also left £400 to buy land of £30 annual value to support as many Fellows and Scholars as it could. The result was the foundation of one Fellowship. His books were valuable, and included two fine Florentine editions of the Pandects. His executor, Robert Hare, added books on his own account, as has been recorded, and among others a very fine MS. of Thomas of Elmham's *History of the Monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury*, with lists of Popes, Archbishops of Canterbury, Abbots of St. Augustine's, and Kings of Kent and England, with some gaps, down to his own time, in Henry V.'s reign. It had been the property of the monastery, and Hare made the condition that if the monastery were ever restored the College should return the book to it. On March 17, 1608, Archbishop Bancroft wrote to Dr. Cowell, then Master, saying:

'You have a booke wch Mr. Hare bestowed uppon you that did appertaine to the Abbey at Canterburie. It conteyneth in it many auncient records, as I am informed. I pray you send it up to me. It shall be safe, for I know y^r^ charge: howbeit I hold it had bene fitter to have bene given to the Archbishopricke of Canterburie; wch is more likely to stand than that Abbey to be built.'*

Cowell was Vicar-General to Bancroft; perhaps he

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. iv.

knew him very well, for the book is safe at Cambridge still, in place of being safe with the Archbishop. The latter probably knew that St. Augustine's Abbey had no more to do with the archbishopric than Trinity Hall had, but he evidently wanted to annex the MS. His forecast about the archbishopric was unfortunate; it had fallen for a time in less than forty years, and though the Abbey was not rebuilt, the College stood, and its library was safer than that of Lambeth during the Civil Wars.

John Cowell, LL.D., who retained this treasure for the Trinity Hall Library, became Master on Preston's death in 1598, Gabriel Harvey being again an unsuccessful candidate. He was admitted on June 3 in that year. He was a King's man, and was already Regius Professor of Civil Law, a post which he continued to hold with his Mastership. He was Bancroft's Vicar-General from 1604. He had the reputation of being an extremely learned man, and, indeed, professed that a scientific lawyer, himself for example, should be omniscient. 'A lawyer professeth true philosophy, and should not therefore be ignorant, if it were possible, of either beasts, fowls, or creeping things; nor of the trees, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall.'* But the learning of Solomon was not sufficient to guard Cowell from practical indiscretions. In 1607 he published *The Interpreter*, a Law Dictionary in form, containing a vast amount of miscellaneous learning, and most preposterous and ill-judged dissertations upon the constitutional positions of the King and the Parliament and of the Common Law. The theories of the Civilians were pushed to an extreme length, and James I. exalted to

* *Interpreter*, Introduction.

the position of a Roman Emperor. He was an absolute King, and in the opinion of some, Cowell said, 'subsidies were granted by Parliament in consideration of the King's goodness in waiving his absolute power to make laws without their consent.' The Common lawyers were up in arms, but it was not till 1610 that, probably at Coke's instigation, the House of Commons censured the book. Coke called Cowell 'Doctor Cow-heel'; seventeenth-century controversy was not nice in its expressions. But the King himself had enough common-sense to refuse to countenance the book, and it was suppressed by proclamation. It was republished in 1708, with the proclamation suppressing it in the introduction. Cowell continued to be Regius Professor, however, till his death the next year, and it may be that his book reflects the kind of teaching which made Trinity Hall, though not its then Master, on the whole a Royalist College in the coming struggles.

Cowell by his will, proved October 8, 1611, left his house in Cambridge for the foundation of a lecture in Logic in the College. Logic was regarded not only as in itself a valuable training, but so long as degrees were conferred after the performance of exercises and the carrying on of disputations, it was a necessary preparation for success in any faculty. At a later period the Professors of Civil Law found it necessary to lecture on Logic. The lectures were to be delivered at least four times a week in term time, from six o'clock to eight o'clock a.m. The College kept early hours no doubt at night, persuaded by the dearness of light and fuel, but for the greater part of two terms the Logic lectures, if attended, must have been delivered by the light of tallow candles.

After Cowell's death Clement Corbett, LL.D., Chancellor of Ely, was admitted Master, October 15, 1611. He had been admitted a Scholar of the College in 1592, made a Fellow in 1598. He was Gresham Professor of Law in London from 1607 to 1613, and was subsequently to his election Chancellor of Norwich. Corbett, like Preston, was a married man, and perhaps his wife was the first lady who had lived in the Lodge. He resigned in 1626, and lived till 1652. His Mastership was uneventful, except for the bequest by Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, who had been elected from St. John's to a Fellowship at Trinity Hall in 1590. He by his will, proved October 13, 1613, left a fine silver cup to the College, still preserved, and certain books. They include a fine copy of Montanus' Bible, in eight volumes of four parallel columns in Greek, Latin, Chaldaic, and Hebrew, dedicated to Philip II. of Spain. Barlow's will contains the condition that his books were to be kept by themselves, and his name placed on the desk where they stood.* The Bible of Montanus is still in the Library, but the conditions are forgotten. Barlow, Bishop of Rochester in 1605, of Lincoln in 1609, had been zealous against the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference. He was a learned man, and one of the translators of the Authorized Version. The only other notable Trinity Hall man in the public life of that time, after the Earl of Northampton's death in 1614, was Sir Robert Naunton, another survivor of Harvey's days. Naunton, a Scholar of Trinity Hall, was elected to a Fellowship in the year of Harvey's death. His career was at first that of a Cambridge Don. He was Public Orator in 1594, and again in

* Vol. i., Miscellanea, in the College Library.

1600, and Proctor in 1601. He was supposed, however, to be fitted for official life, and he became Secretary of State in 1618, by Buckingham's favour, making a bargain to endow the favourite's youngest brother with an estate. He was Member of Parliament for the University in 1621, 1624, and 1625. He had resigned his Fellowship in 1616. He was Secretary of State from January 8, 1618, till 1623, during the crisis of the Bohemian troubles and the opening of the Thirty Years' War. The Secretary of State of those days was, we may remember, rather a subordinate person as a rule, allowing such exceptions as Sir Francis Walsingham, not the leading Minister whom we associate with the title. Naunton was a good, respectable second-rate official. He died in 1633. Richard Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who died in 1626, was another Trinity Hall man of the day, of no great mark, of ancient Cumberland family, son of an antiquary praised by Camden.

But during Corbett's mastership Robert Herrick was in residence at the College. Cambridge has been the nurse of many poets, and Trinity Hall, despite her legal studies, of more than one—of none more prized than he, the last voice of the Elizabethan school, outliving the Elizabethan age of Milton's earlier poems, keeping the sounder tradition, undisturbed by the wilder eccentricities of Donne and Cowley, and dying the last of the lyricists. Born in 1591, he was originally at St. John's, where he entered as a Fellow Commoner in 1613. His allowance was £10 a term, which he found insufficient, and in 1616 he migrated to Trinity Hall, partly to study law, but partly to study economy. So does time bring about its changes. He became B.A. in 1617 and M.A. in 1620. Neither his legal nor his economical

desires were quite carried out, perhaps, for he took Orders instead of following the law, and in 1629, when he obtained a living in Devonshire, he was in debt to the College. The *Hesperides*, published in 1648, are less clerical than poetical in tone. His 'divine poems' are far less of *divina poemata* than the love poems, which almost entitle him to be called the English Catullus. He used to visit Cambridge in his later life, after the Long Parliament had, to his great delight, evicted him from his living, and sent him back to the world of London and Cambridge, which he had regretted in his banishment. There round Harvey's or Thorowgood's 'coals' in the 'Common Parlour' he could recall the conversation and memory of men who had known Gabriel Harvey, had perchance seen Spenser in his friend's rooms, or looked on Ben Jonson's and Shakespeare's plays when acted for the first time. He himself had supped with Ben Jonson at 'The Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tun,' and had not found the Devonshire squires and farmers such congenial company. He regained his benefice in 1662, and, as he lived a good deal upon his friends, may have still visited Cambridge under King's mastership, 1660-1676. Among his friends in his earlier days was Sir Simeon Steward, knighted by James I. while still an undergraduate at Trinity Hall in 1603,* who resided as a Fellow Commoner afterwards, and died perhaps in 1629. He also was a poet, author of the *Faery King*, which has not shared the immortality of the *Faerie Queene*; but he is more likely to be remembered because Herrick dedicated poems to him.

* He belonged to the Stewards of Cambridgeshire, who, most likely without reason, claimed connexion with the Stewarts of Scotland, but who certainly intermarried with the Cromwells.

CHAPTER VII

DR. EDEN'S MASTERSHIP AND THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

On Corbett's resignation Thomas Eden, LL.D., was elected and admitted as Master on September 4, 1626. Eden had originally entered at Pembroke, but was elected a Scholar of Trinity Hall in 1596, and a Fellow in 1599. He was a practising advocate of considerable reputation, and was Gresham Professor of Law from 1613 to 1640. Unlike so many of his profession, he was opposed to the measures of the Court. Charles Eden, who was a Fellow of the College, and perhaps his brother, voted for the Earl of Berkshire against the Duke of Buckingham, the King's favourite, in the contested election for the Chancellorship in 1626.* This election, made while the Parliamentary attack on Buckingham was in progress, raised the special anger of the Commons. Buckingham was elected on June 1 by a narrow majority. In the same year, when the King raised a loan under Privy Seals, Dr. Thomas Eden had to lend £500. His daughter's husband, Richard Kirby, was petitioning Charles II.'s Government for

* Rushworth gives Car. Eden in the minority. Thomas Eden appears in neither list. He probably was in his place in Parliament.

repayment of it forty years later.* Eden was M.P. for the University in the first, second, and third Parliaments of King Charles, from 1625 to 1629. He was re-elected for the Short Parliament in 1640, and then for the Long Parliament in the same year.† He was among the signers of the Protestation in May, 1641, at the time of the Army Plot during Strafford's trial, voted for the Remonstrance in November, and, continuing to sit at Westminster after war began, took the Covenant with the rest of Parliament in 1643. He was more than a silent supporter of this side. His professional knowledge was utilized by the Parliament, for in 1645, shortly before his death, he was named one of the eighteen Commissioners of the Admiralty, because, of course, of his acquaintance with Admiralty law. The relations of Eden to the College were more than cordial; his epitaph in the Chapel does not read like a tribute of fictitious respect, and Trinity Hall was able to hail in its Master a veritable father to the College, notwithstanding that it was not the College of his academical birth. Like Tusser before him, like another still more similar example since, the son by adoption had made 'the Hall' peculiarly his own. This affection redounds the more to the credit of Master and society, because politically they were a good deal divided. The University was much more the home of Puritanism than Oxford was, but on the whole it was Royalist at the time when the war was impending, while Dr. Eden was

* C. II., S. P. Dom., vol. clxxxvi. 63. Kirby was his father-in-law's heir, and 'much reduced' by his sufferings for the King.

† His colleague was Henry Lucas, secretary to the Earl of Holland, the Chancellor of the University, of the same side in politics. The rejected candidate was Dr. Lambe, Dean of the Arches, a strong anti-Puritan.

not. In the summer of 1642, when the King had left London, and an appeal to arms was plainly imminent, Eden was pretty constantly in attendance at Westminster, as the proceedings of the House show. It was in his absence, therefore, in all probability, that the College made preparations which he could not approve. The Parliament had issued orders, July 5, 1642, that the county of Cambridge was to exercise itself in arms;* but the county was on the whole Puritan. When on July 16 it was reported that arms were going down from London to Cambridge for the use of the University, the House issued orders that they should be stopped.† For the sake of peace and quiet it was as well that this should be done. The University authorities complained that the townsmen were practising with their unaccustomed arms at the windows of Scholars; and though this proceeding required to be stopped, it was as well that the Scholars should not have the chance of practising back.‡ Yet some arms had got through to their destination. It was reported to the Commons on July 20 that the Mayor of Cambridge had stopped ten chests, but that Trinity College had received five. Perhaps one of these, unless it was a sixth chest which eluded the Mayor, was received by Trinity Hall. In the College accounts it appears that Sir Robert Wiseman, Knight, LL.D., of Trinity Hall, with the consent of the Fellows, had laid out £10 15s. 8d., which was repaid, on six muskets, with rests for them, bandoliers, ammunition, and match. But a greater than the Mayor had to be reckoned with. The member for the borough was not a person to be easily defied. He visited

* Commons Journals, ii. 674. † *Ibid.*, ii. 675.
‡ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. 327.

the College, with or without warrant, and 'The said muskets were presently, after their being brought to ye College, taken away from ye College by Mr. Oliver Cromwell, pretending the authority of Parliament so to take them away.'* The same gentleman was otherwise active in superintending University affairs. On August 19 it was reported at Westminster that 'Mr. Oliver Cromwell' had seized College plate to the estimated value of £6,000, which was being sent away from Cambridge to the army chest of the King.† Dr. Eden had possibly taken the alarm, and checked the dangerous loyalty of his society. Their plate was not sent, for not only the Founder's, Parker's, and Barlow's cups, but other pieces of plate mentioned in 1557 are still in existence at the College, and so presumably were not among the confiscated contributions. Or were they sent and seized, and had Eden sufficient influence to get them back again, saving them from another army chest?

The storms of civil war happily raged away from Cambridge; but the concurrent disturbances were felt. The order of the Commons for the destruction of superstitious ornaments in churches had been issued, and in pursuance of this object 'William Dowsing, with many other such like fellows, stark mad with their zeal against Popery,' to quote Warren, were let loose upon the country. Dowsing acted in the Eastern counties, and has left behind a record of his own mischief. He did not do much at Trinity Hall: 'With Mr. Culiard ffellow,' on December 2, 1643, 'we destroyed orata (*sic*) pro anima

* Warren, App., 106, Entry in Comput: Coll., 1642, and Miscellanea, College Library, i. 16.

† Lords' Journals, v. 307.

mea on a grave stone.' The fine brass of Dr. Hewke still exists, so was perhaps put out of the way. Dowsing would not have been content with stealing the head. But it is probable that some of the old glass, with inscriptions *Summæ Trinitati*, the Founder's arms, and the date 1566, which Warren describes as imperfect in his time, was broken by Dowsing and his friend. St. Edward's Church suffered more severely. Of this he writes: 'January 1st, 1643 (44), Edward's Parish, we digged up the steps and brake down 40 Pictures and took off 10 Superstitious Inscriptions.' Forty frescoes or painted windows in the little church show what it was still, after the Reformation, before iconoclasm was perfected.

The Civil Wars interfered with the prosperity of the country, and all estates fell in value, College estates among them, even in parts of England which were not the scene of actual hostilities. The revenues from lands of Trinity Hall, *reddítus*, including rents and tithes, had gone up from the £119 2s. of Parker's visitation, and £122 6s. 6d. in 1557, to £204 17s. 10½d. in 1599. It was a period when the value of money was falling fast in England, owing to the influx of silver from America at last affecting us. In the next thirty or forty years, however, this cause was not operating so decidedly; the value of silver and of commodities had reached a fairly steady ratio, and increased rents mean increased productiveness. The unparliamentary period of Charles's reign, when England was the only important country of Europe at peace, was a time of prosperity, and in 1635 the College income reached a point higher than any which it touched for the next sixty-four years, £315 18s. How hard landed proprietors were hit by the Civil War is shown by a rapid drop, after some six or seven years

of a fairly steady level, from 1642 onwards, till in 1645, the year of Eden's death, the income is only £204 2s. 10d., or about what it had been in the war time at the end of Elizabeth's reign, though the price of wheat had gone up from about 40s. to about 56s. a quarter. At the same time the number of inmates of the College had diminished. The scholarships were evidently vacant. In place of fourteen Scholars regularly receiving commons, we find in 1645 only six, or sometimes only four, for most weeks in the year. The numbers seem to fill up again by 1647-48, but the income recovered very slowly. £20 had been regularly received from the Boar's Head at Chelmsford; in 1645 '*nihil*' appears against it. The income from parishes is also nothing for a time in several cases. The year 1645 was the worst, in 1646 a slight rise is seen, and by slow degrees, unaffected by the establishment of the Protectorate or by the Restoration, the amount rises again to about £250, then to £300. But it is not till after the Peace of Ryswick, ratified 1697, in William III.'s reign, that the increase is rapid. Then, in 1699, it reached £336 14s. 9d., for the first time going beyond what it had been in 1635. The liberties of Parliament, like most things worth having, had to be paid for.*

Dr. Eden may have felt that he was taken away from the evil to come. His will seems to speak in tones of apprehension, but he bountifully provided, so far as lay in his power, for the preservation of the traditions of the society over which he had presided with fatherly

* Comput: Coll., in College Library. The drop is the more remarkable when we remember that the estates and parishes lay almost exclusively in the Eastern counties, which were not the scene of serious war, except for a short time in Essex in 1648; and the Chelmsford rents had disappeared before 1648.

care. Already in 1633 he had established a Commemoration of Benefactors, who since the cessation of their *obits*, founded for their perpetual memory, might be in danger of being forgotten. He then gave land bringing in £28 a year, and provided that on December 17 annually the Master, Fellows and Scholars (*etiam de minori forma*) were to meet in Chapel. There one of the Fellows was to read an oration, of an hour's duration, in commemoration by name of the Founder and all Benefactors, and in praise of (*in laudem et commendationem*) the Roman Law or the Imperial Law (*Legum Romanorum seu Imperialium*), and of the Ecclesiastical Laws of this kingdom of England. The Master was to receive £3 6s. 8d., the Fellow who read the oration the same, other Fellows £1 13s. 4d. each, Scholars 2s. each.

His will is dated January 24, 1643-44. It runs:

'First I commend my soul to the mercy of God hoping tho' I be a most sinful wicked man yet thro' the mercy of God and the merit of my Dear Saviour Jesus Christ it shall be received into Everlasting Bliss in Heaven.

'My body I commit to the Earth, desiring earnestly and without fail to be buried in the Chapel in Trinity Hall in Cambridge, before the Treasure house door there. And I desire that in the window above that place a Little Monument or memorial of me may be placed, not curious or costly, but lasting, of marble or such like; whereupon may be engraven my Name and Family, the time of my death, and that I was a Benefactor to that poor College.'

He left £504, the price of the land which furnished his former benefaction, to buy land to double the £28 then provided, and whereas the surplus of the former £28, which would be £1 2s. if the normal number of

Fellows and Scholars were there, had gone in the provision of wax candles, the surplus of this second £28 should go for 'some provision of Wine and Dyet.' He left moreover £40 to buy a fair Arras hanging for the upper end of the Hall; £10 for a piece of plate, 'on which I desire my name and arms to be set.' In conclusion: 'And I pray God preserve and prosper that poor Society.' It is needless to add that Eden is remembered at the Commemoration, his will read, and his final prayer responded to by what is not always a formal Amen. The 'fair Arras hanging' represented a Roman Triumph, which might be taken to refer to the praise of the *Leges Romanæ seu Imperiales:*

'Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.'

He was buried as directed, and a marble stone erected, with an inscription full of something more than the customary eulogy of epitaphs.

'Hic spe certa resurgendi in Christo sepultus Thomas Edenus LL.Dr. Peritissimus et Hujus Collegii olim Dignissimus Præfectus.'

'Inspice Lector ac Venerare.'

It goes on to describe his birth and condition, but the latter part merits an English version, for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the tongue which Dr. Eden and his contemporary scholars used as freely as their own. It runs as follows:

'Higher praise, for distinguished courtesy and uprightness of character, for a singular skill in the Civil and in the Canon Law, has been attained by none; whence came it that he carefully discharged the high function of the place* which deservedly, in the judgment of all good men,

* *Spartam;* that is, 'poor place,' compare Eden's reference to 'that poor college'; and see *Cicero ad Att.* 4, 6, 2.

he had obtained among us, and in his life-time attached our College to him by benefits so many and so great, as to merit the name of a Father more than of a Master' (*ut Parentis potius nomen quam Custodis mereatur*).

At the Commemoration service which he established, first are read the Psalms for the day. Then the proper Lesson, from Ecclesiasticus xliv.: 'Let us praise famous men and the fathers who begat us,' etc. Then Dr. Eden's foundation and will. Then the commemoration oration, in Latin, in praise of the Benefactors and of the Roman Law. Then the *Te Deum* and Psalms cxlviii., cxlix., cl. Then is said:

'The memory of the Righteous shall remain for evermore.'

R.: 'And shall not be afraid of any evil report.'

Then this prayer: 'O Lord, we glorify Thee in those Thy servants our Religious Founder and worthy Benefactors, departed out of this present Life; Beseeching Thee that as they for their time bestowed charitably for our comfort the Temporal things which Thou gavest them, so we for our time may fruitfully use the same, to the setting forth of Thy Holy Word, Thy Laud and Praise; and finally that both They and We may reign with Thee for ever in the Kingdom of Glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.'

The Blessing.

Eden had died in London, while in attendance on his Parliamentary duties, but his body was brought to Cambridge for burial. He was the youngest son of Richard Eden, of South Hanningfield in Essex. His legacy of silver plate still remains. His fair Arras hanging was removed later, as will be seen.

Dr. Eden died July 18, 1645, at a critical time for the College, as well as for the country. The King had just been beaten at Naseby, Montrose was still victorious in Scotland, and the Government at Westminster was wielding that minute control over all business, which is inevitable perhaps in time of war, but which was exercised with an ill grace by the supposed champions of liberty. There was no reason why Trinity Hall should not proceed as usual to the election of a Master. They had at first delayed, and were presently forbidden by the Houses to hold an election. The prohibition, however, came too late, for they had already made a choice. This they represented to the Parliament, and their high mightinesses graciously permitted the College to conform to their lawful statutes. Indeed, they could scarcely do otherwise, seeing that the choice proposed was of the Englishman most distinguished among those then living, perhaps of those who ever lived, in the special studies of the College. On October 15 the Fellows received the license of the two Houses to elect John Selden,* member of the House of Commons, a former sufferer for his support of the true privileges of Parliament. Unfortunately, for his name would have added distinction to the College, and he could not have failed to rule it well, Selden refused. He was deep in public business and private studies, and very probably knew that his conceptions of the direction of a College might not agree with those of his colleagues in power. The College therefore petitioned for leave to elect Dr. Robert King,†

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i., October 15, 1645.

† King graduated M.A. from Christ's in 1624, and was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall in 1625.

Fellow, Doctor Juris Civilis, late Official of the Archdeacon of Suffolk. They notified the Houses of their choice on October 28, mentioning the refusal of Selden, and acknowledging the kindness of the Houses in allowing them to proceed to an election. The Lords concurred, but the Commons refused to allow the election of a man of Royalist principles, an official of the hated Ecclesiastical Courts.* For a time there was no further step taken; but on March 7, 1646, the College elected John Bond, M.A., Fellow of Catherine Hall. Bond was in Orders certainly. He had been a Lecturer in the days before the Civil War, and though the Lecturers were of Puritan opinions, appointed *propter hoc*, to preach Calvinism, yet they were of necessity ordained clergy of the Church. He was one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the author of published sermons. It seems likely that he was the same Mr. Bond who was appointed minister at the Savoy in 1645,† and the same John Bond who was a week-day preacher at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1649,‡ and got £37 10s. allowed him out of the proceeds of the sale of chapter lands. He was also Gresham Professor of Law, and was so far a suitable choice. He was a native of Melcombe Regis in Dorsetshire, and there is a question whether he was or was not the same as the John Bond who was elected M.P. for Melcombe Regis to take the place of a former member who supported the King. Probably he was not the same.§ Bond must have been in a difficult

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i., October 28, 1645.

† Commons' Journals, iii. 259.

‡ Shaw, *History of English Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 537.

§ The *Dictionary of National Biography* seems to incline to the view that he was the same; but the Clerical Disabilities Act, 16. C. I., 27, strictly construed, would exclude Bond, the Lecturer, from Parliament.

position at the head of a society which was of necessity on uneasy terms with the dominant party. Two residents in the College, Mr. Hatley and Mr. Lynne, had their goods sequestrated as Royalists in 1647.* But the revolution was striking at the means of livelihood of Trinity Hall men, quite irrespective of their original opinions. The Ecclesiastical Courts were abolished,† and the offices filled by Civilians and their means of practice were seriously curtailed. The functions of Canonists were destroyed altogether, so that their learning was reduced to a branch of antiquarianism.‡ Some of the business done in the Ecclesiastical Courts, such as probate and marriage cases, had to go on in different forms, and some of it no doubt fell into the old hands; but Trinity Hall and Doctors' Commons cannot have approved of the Commonwealth.§ The Common lawyers, from the time of the meeting of the Long Parliament, had begun to invade the province of the Civilians, and the House itself had superseded Ecclesiastical Judges. Admiralty business remained, and John Exton, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity Hall,‖ and William Clerke, LL.D., of Trinity Hall, were appointed Admiralty Judges in 1647, and continued by the Commonwealth in 1649. Exton managed to be reappointed after the Restoration. In

* Cooper, *Additions and Corrections*, p. 421.

† Specifically by the ordinance abolishing episcopacy in 1646, but they had ceased to sit before.

‡ Henry VIII. had abolished lectures on Canon Law in 1534 and the degree of Doctor of Canon Law. But the study of Canon Law could not be extinct while Ecclesiastical Courts continued.

§ Fuller, writing during the Commonwealth, says: 'Yet both (Civil and Canon Law) twisted together are scarce strong enough, especially in our bad days, to draw unto them a liberal livelihood' (*History of the University of Cambridge*, sect. vi., p. 167, Nicholls' edition).

‖ Father of Sir Thomas Exton, Master.

1648 Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, the Dutchman, Professor at Leyden, and then Professor of History at Cambridge, was added to them. He was a trusted agent of the Long Parliament in their foreign affairs, was Judge Advocate of Essex's army in the war, and aided in the preparation of the charges against the King. He had his reward. On December 18, 1648, when Dr. Dorislaus moved a home in London, the following letter was despatched to the College:

'GENTLEMEN,

'I am given to understand that by the late decease of Dr. Duck, his chamber is become vacant in the Drs. Commons, to which Dr. Dorislaus now desireth to be your Tenant; who hath done service unto the Parliament from the beginning of these warrs, and hath been constantly employed by the Parliament in many weighty affaires, and specially of late beyond the sea, with the States Generall of the United Provinces. *If you please to prefer him before any other paying rent and fine to your Colledge,* I shall take it as a Curtesie att your hands, whereby you will oblige

'Your assured friende and servant,

'O. CROMWELL.

'18*th December*, 1648.'*

The member for the borough, of course, had his way. But Dr. Dorislaus got little use of his chambers. In the following May he was murdered by Royalists at the Hague. Whereupon, on June 11, 1649, the Council of State wrote to the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall:

'You have heard of the cruel assassination and murder

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. iv. The letter has the additional interest of showing that the College directly controlled the assignment of chambers at Doctors' Commons. The italicized words are underlined in the original, no doubt by someone during the protracted litigation about Doctors' Commons, not by Cromwell.

of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague, of which the Parliament and Council are very sensible, and have also a tender consideration of his fatherless children for whom they hold themselves obliged to do what they may reasonably. Being informed that Dr. Dorislaus took lodgings in Doctors Commons from your College in March last, and paid £25 for a fine, and has been at £35 charges in reparations, which lodging he was to enjoy during life, paying £5 a year, and his life being lost in the service of the Commonwealth, and thereby both his fine and his charges lost to his children who are ill able to bear the loss; we at request of his children recommend to you that the children may enjoy the said lodgings for some convenient number of years, in respect of his fine and charges, they paying the rent agreed upon.'*

Exactly like any Tudor or Stewart Sovereign, the Council of State are vicarious in their charity. The College was to lose the profit of the renewed fine which followed an unexpected demise, and the Doctor's children were not to be provided for by the Government in whose service their father was killed, but were to be quartered upon a society from which, by its rules, wives and families were absolutely to be excluded. Probably the College had to concur.

The Master was not forgotten, however, by the authorities. On May 17, 1654, the Council of State made an order for paying to Dr. Bond, Master of Trinity Hall, the arrears due to him for the augmentation granted to that Mastership.† The Trustees for 'First Fruits' made a payment of £53 to Dr. John

* S. P., Dom., June 11, 1649.

† Cooper, *Additions and Corrections*, p. 428 (S. P., Dom., May 17, 1654).

Bond, Master of Trinity Hall, on November 20, 1655.* Under the Protectorate a fair number of men who filled public offices respectably in the next forty years were being educated at the College in the old Civil Law studies, but this may be considered the period when the Canon Law went finally into quite the background, for it was, of course, not binding on the clergy even. The Fellows were none of them *Canonistæ*, since 1534, nor now were they in Orders even, and the College became a lay body, whatever the originally clerical position of Dr. Bond—a state to which it had been rapidly tending before. But lay though it was, the College still ruled St. Edward's. One of our last views of Dr. Bond is as discharging his functions for the regulation of St. Edward's. The rights of private patronage were not abolished, and on February 28, 1659, the Master and Fellows made an assignment of pews in the church to parishioners, the document being signed by John Bond and Henry Fauconberge.† The latter was founder of Fauconberge's School at Beccles in Suffolk. There is preserved a list of odds and ends at Trinity Hall during Bond's time. Among the possessions of the College at the period was 'a pair of Unicorns' horns'; they are not distinctly specified as a pair from one head, or they would be the more curious.

One entry of this time is to be noticed. On June 21, 1650, Samuel Pepys was admitted as a Sizar at Trinity Hall. On the following October 1, he was admitted as a Sizar at Magdalene. He never therefore resided at Trinity Hall.

* Shaw, *English Church under the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 577.

† Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i.

Arthur Stanhope, sixth son to the first Earl of Chesterfield, was a B.A. of Trinity Hall when he got one of the first Craven Scholarships in 1648. He was M.P. for Nottingham in the Convention Parliament of 1660 and in 1661.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESTORATION

WHEN the Restoration came round, Dr. Bond retired without making any trouble. Dr. King was still alive, and he had been the original choice of the College; and though many of those who elected him in 1645 were gone, yet authority might be expected to be exerted in his favour. But the Fellows who had been elected under Dr. Bond were pretty clearly not altogether of the way of thinking of Dr. King, nor of the party now in the ascendant; and the society needed reconstruction in the interest of the Church and Royalist feeling. King was re-elected and admitted on August 2, 1660. In 1660 he was Chancellor of Ely, and was probably then appointed. The vicarious charity of which we spoke, in the case of Dr. Dorislaus' children, was freely exercised by the Government after 1660. It was considered advisable to encourage a sound party feeling in the University, and there were many sufferers for loyalty who might be cheaply compensated, so far as the Crown was concerned, by scholarships and Fellowships for their sons. Almost immediately the Royalist party in the College asserted themselves by admitting as a Fellow a man who had been elected during the Civil War, but

refused admission then as a Royalist. Francis Heath had been elected in 1644 in place of Dr. Roane; he was admitted, with no record of a fresh election, on January 2, 1662.* The reconstruction of the College did not always proceed so smoothly. There was some controversy from 1664 to 1666 over the election of a Fellow. The younger members of the College opposed Dr. King in the matter of the choice of a Mr. Eade, who had been recommended by the Crown, and whom the Master had supported. Indeed, the Master's conduct appears to have been open to doubt, for he had caused Robert Eade, who was M.A. Cantab., on the strength of a royal mandate only, to be elected as a Fellow on August 30, 1664, *in locum Socii Legistæ proxime vacaturum*, there being no actual vacancy apparently, and had admitted him on September 27. On the following 15th of January, 1665, Mr. Eade is *denuo admissus in locum Doctoris Owen tunc vacantem.* Eade was not a Cambridge man even, except by virtue of the royal letters in obedience to which he had been given his degree, and was a clergyman. He was elected with no actual vacancy in the place of a lay Fellow. There was naturally a disturbance among the legal and perhaps anti-Church party in the College. One W. D. wrote from London to a Mr. Barlo in Cambridge to encourage resistance. This is probably William Davenant, who had only been elected in 1659, and had resigned his Fellowship in 1662.† It appears that the chief point of offence was Mr. Eade's being in Orders. This, how-

* Order Book, date cited.

† Or William Dickins, who was elected in 1649 and resigned in 1665. In either case the date of election makes it probable that W. D. was not a *persona grata* to the authorities in 1665-66.

ever, was a reason for the support of Dr. King's action by the Cavalier Ministry then in power, and by the University officials. On February 7, 1666, Dr. Wilford, Master of Corpus, the Vice-Chancellor, wrote to the Earl of Manchester, enclosing an account of the matter, which account is unfortunately missing, but defending Dr. King's action.

'I can truly say of him that he is soe quiet and peaceable a person that we are all amazed at this kind of deportment of theirs. I can guess at noe greater reason for this their proceeding than his to great mildness in his government; for we cannot think but that he being a Dr of ye Civil Law must needs know his own Statutes, and what he is to doe in such a case.'

So Dr. Wilford hopes that the reference of the matter concerning the election of Mr. Eade to his lordship 'may help to cool this heat begun by these young men, and take off the ill consequences of any parties and factions which may be made about it in the University.'* The Crown took up the matter seriously. On March 27, 1666, the King referred the examination of divers abuses in the election of Fellows at Trinity Hall to the Archbishop and to the Lord Chancellor and others, who were to labour to compose all differences, and failing that to make a report on the state of the College.† The result seems to have been that the Crown undertook the practical appointment of Fellows. The objects of the royal interference are clearly, first, to promote Royalist partisans; secondly, to promote clerical Fellows, especially in the period when under Clarendon and his friends the strong

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i.: Wilford to the Earl of Manchester.

† S. P., Dom., C. ii., vol. cliii.; Entry Book 14, pp. 78, 79.

Churchmen were in power in the Government. These interferences seem to be recorded more commonly in the case of Trinity Hall than in those of other Cambridge Colleges. The nursery of Civilians was considered of particular importance. Thus, in 1668 the King wrote to the Master and Senior Fellows recommending to them, as a Fellow to fill a vacancy, Francis Coell, son of Sir John Coell, on the ground of the loyalty of his relations.* Subsequently, however, as the King understood that this election was to the prejudice of Suetonius Parry, who had had a former letter in his favour, he wished Coell to resign and Parry to be chosen. As Sir John Coell was willing that his son should resign, His Majesty recommended that Francis Coell should be entered for the next vacancy. Coell had not long to wait, for in the next year another vacancy occurred, and he received the same powerful recommendation as before, and was elected.† In the same year as Coell's election the King wrote to the Master and Fellows that Mr. William Wheeler had been a Scholar of the College for two years, and was eligible for a Fellowship. His father had so suffered for his loyalty in the late usurpation as to be unable to make provision for him. The King therefore requested the College to elect Mr. Wheeler to the next vacancy, except to the Divinity Fellowship, to which another must be elected, for Wheeler was not in Orders, so that 'the offices of the Church may be duly supplied.'‡

This qualification of the claims of Mr. Wheeler, to the next vacancy except the vacancy of the Divinity

* S. P., Dom., June 20, 1668; and see Cooper, *Additions and Corrections*, p. 450.

† S. P., Dom., October 21, 1669.

‡ S. P., Dom., December 7, 1669.

Fellowship, reminds us that the College had become almost a purely lay society during the interregnum. In 1663 the King wrote to the Master and Fellows that the 'constant usage of the College' required that one of the Fellows should be in Orders. None are at that date; and the Crown therefore recommends Ralph Davenant, M.A., clerk, for election to the next vacancy.* He was elected accordingly on the Conversion of St. Paul, 1664.

The influence of the Crown does not seem to have been sufficient in another case to overcome a difficulty raised under the statutes. Thomas Hughes, the son of loyal parents by his own account, was a Scholar of the College, elected in 1667, and in 1671 obtained letters mandatory, dated November 17, to the Master and Fellows recommending him to the next vacancy.† He was elected by four Fellows only on February 28, 1672.‡ The Master admitted him with the *proviso* that such admission should be void if on a scrutiny the election should not prove to be good.§ It did not, seemingly, prove to be good. Thomas Hughes was holding a small benefice, and so under the statutes was not eligible. He again petitioned the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, in 1674, for his influence to secure a new *mandamus*, saying that he had resigned his benefice, and that he was the son of loyal parents, and had been seven years a scholar.‖ Apparently he was unsuccessful;

* S. P., Dom., November 24, 1663.

† S. P., Dom., C. ii., November 17, 1671.

‡ S. P., Dom., C. ii., 304, 29, March 18, 1672.

§ S. P., Dom., C. ii., 305, 68, April 5, 1672, and College Order Book.

‖ S. P., Dom., C. ii., vol. cxlii. 128, no date, put down wrongly to 1665 in the Calendar. It is of 1674 by Hughes' reference to his scholarship of seven years ago. Arlington was Secretary of State till September, 1674.

for in 1677 he was holding two small benefices in Wales. However, by 1674 the Crown view of the 'constant usage of the College' to have at least one Fellow in Orders had been sufficiently asserted to make it unnecessary to bring in a poor Welsh parson to reinforce the clerical element. The principal question, however, in the domestic politics of the College in the generation after the Restoration was evidently that between the advocates of lay or clerical Fellows. The former prevailed, but not without a final protest being recorded.

Whatever the usage of the College, the statutes appeared to ordain that a good many more than one Fellow should be priests. This was the view taken by Warren, the collector of College documents, who has a valuable note on this subject, written in the next century. Under the date of August 21, 1731, he records his protest against an order of the College that a Fellow, newly to be elected after that date, should be in Orders and have special charge of the Chapel services. He contends that the care of the Chapel belongs to all the Fellows, and that, in place of one being singled out for perpetual Chapel duty in term time, a sufficient number always should be in Orders to make the duty regular and less irksome. He refers to the original statutes of Bishop Bateman, which contemplated a considerable proportion of the Fellows of his intended society of twenty being priests, and to the clerical Fellowships established by Dallyng (2), Goodknape, Hewke, and Nykke (2). He points out that in 37 Henry VIII. eight Fellows were priests. Since then the number is uncertain, but sometimes there had been one, or sometimes two, or three, till recently. As a matter of fact, he says, of late years there had often

been no clerical Fellow in residence, and prayers had been read in the Chapel by laymen. He remembered when Dr. Brookbank, LL.D.—who was elected on Dallyng's foundation in 1679, and therefore he contends should have been in Orders, though he was not—had so read prayers for, he thinks, half a year together. The Act of Elizabeth confirmed, he believed, the old tenure of Fellowships. But Warren, recognising the impossibility of bringing things back to what he considered the lawful form, recommended that a Chaplain should be appointed and paid to take the services, rather than that one clerical Fellow should be so tied. He was himself in Orders, and, while quite willing to do his share, objected on principle to doing other people's. His plan of a paid chaplain has been of late till quite recently adopted. Brookbank, who read the service, in perhaps Warren's undergraduate days, was evidently a worthy pious man. He was official of the Archdeacon of Ely and Chancellor of Durham. He is buried in St. Edward's, where his epitaph was composed, Warren says, by the great Bentley. It commemorates him as *Humanitate, Integritate, Generositate conspicuus.* He died in 1724, aged seventy-three, *per totam vitam ὑδροποτης.* He must have been a little out of his element in that age. The longevity of the Fellows argues sparing use of the College well as a rule. As Chancellor under Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, Brookbank probably procured that great prelate's portrait for the College; unless Sir Nathaniel Lloyd did so, for Lloyd was Lord Crewe's godson.

Attempts had been made to strengthen the clerical element by private benefaction. Before Warren's protest, Mr. Ayloffe, of Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, devised

to the College, October 25, 1690, £45 a year from the rectory and parsonage of Gargrave, Yorkshire; £40 were to be devoted to the augmentation of the clerical Fellowships. The Fellows were to read lectures on the Church Catechism, for half an hour after morning service, every Wednesday and Friday in term time;* which would enable them to make a thoroughly exhaustive analysis of the Catechism in a year. One wonders if the practice continued to Lord Chesterfield's time at the College, in 1712-14; he does not mention the moral effects in his *Letters to a Son.* The lectures have been by now discontinued. We may gather from Warren that though, after 1663, there generally were one or two clerical Fellows, yet that they had by no means been always in residence, that the lay element had triumphed, and that the care of the students had been sometimes altogether in lay hands. The Master was always a layman, from Bond's retirement to the election of the present Master in 1888. That the Master and most of the Fellows were not only not clergy, but in many cases men engaged in public life away from Cambridge, had and has continued to have its effect upon the character of the College, introducing a certain breadth and liberality of views on the life and discipline of the undergraduates, which may have had its dangers, but which certainly has had its advantages.

To return to the days of Dr. King's Mastership. From Admiralty Courts and Doctors' Commons the lay Fellows found their way back to Cambridge for the due celebration of business and feasts. An audit bill

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. v. William Ayloffe was elder brother to Thomas Ayloffe, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity Hall, Regius Professor of Law 1703-1713.

survives,* of this period, which illustrates the homely festivity of the later seventeenth century. It is dated December 17, 1672, and runs:

	£	s.	d.
24 Dinners. For Mutton above Com^{s} ...	0	2	0
41 Suppers. For 2 Loyns and a Shoulder of Mutton	0	7	6
For a Loyne and a breast of veale	0	5	6
For 3 capons	0	6	6
For 5 ducks and a couple of Rabbits	0	6	4
For 13 green Plover	0	9	9
For Butt of Claret†	0	5	3
For Cheese and Apples...	0	1	6
For Tobacco pipes and candles	0	3	10
For Coals and Sedge	0	2	1½
For Bread	0	4	10
For Beere stronge and small	0	12	6
For Trenchers	0	2	6
Summa ...	3	10	1½
Received of which in Commons (y^{re} being 21) at 2d. Dish...	0	6	9
Received also for Bread and Beere at iid. a piece	0	3	6
‡Deduct Sum̃a	0	10	3
Rem't due	2	19	10½
More for wine	2	5	4
	5	5	2½

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i.

† England drank claret, and did not drink much port before the Methuen Treaty of 1703.

‡ From here to end the bill is written in a different hand.

	£	s.	d.
Deduct for Dr. Eden's money	1	12	0
Due from Mr. Buck	1	0	0
Rem't still due	2	13	2½

There is something obviously wrong in the '6s. 9d. at 2d. Dish,'* otherwise the 'Butt of Claret,' the more wine, and the 'Beere, stronge and small,' does not seem to have affected the arithmetic of the clerk of the kitchen. One would like to know how much of the 3s. 10d. went for tobacco-pipes, and how much for candles. Fellows and guests—for clearly there were guests besides the Fellows and Fellow Commoners who had commons—found their own tobacco. The 'Sedge' was for lighting fires. The 'small' beer was all that they had in place of the modern soda-water. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson tell us how it was used for the same purpose. 'Trenchers' were perhaps really *tranchoirs*, flat pieces of bread, unless wooden trenchers had to be bought for the occasion. Evidently the dinner was a modest entertainment. The twenty-one members of the College were reinforced by only three guests, and two shillings' worth of mutton alone swelled the feast above the ordinary. They broke out into hospitality and revelry at supper. The more wine was, we will hope, more expensive than claret, for it is equivalent in price to eight butts of claret and something over. Who were the guests? Herrick was an old man, but he would have enjoyed being there.

Dr. King died in 1676, Dr. Bond died the same year. On November 6, 1676, Sir Thomas Exton, Knight, LL.D.,

* It would seem that the price of the commons, bread and beer ordinarily supplied, was deducted from the cost of the supper which took their place on this occasion.

was elected, and on November 10 admitted as Master. He subsequently became an Admiralty Judge, 1686, and Dean of the Arches in the same year.* His predecessor in the latter post was Sir Robert Wiseman, another Trinity Hall man, the same to whom the six muskets were sent in 1642, who also was for long the Vicar-General of Canterbury. Sir Thomas was, from the dates of his appointments, considered a good subject by James II. Still more decisive evidence of his opinions is his appearance as Member for the University in certain Parliaments. In the thick of the struggle between Charles and Shaftesbury in 1679, when the Universities were steady to the King's side in what was thought to be the preparation for a new civil war, he was elected to the two Parliaments of the year. He was re-elected in 1681, when the Crown had won all along the line, and opposition members were quaking for their heads; and in 1685, when measures were generally taken to return Royalists of a decided colour to James's first Parliament, he was again elected. His loyalty to James, however, was not put to the final test, for he died on the eve of the Revolution, and his successor, George Oxenden, LL.D., was elected and admitted on November 8, 1688, the day on which the Prince of Orange marched into Exeter, three days after the landing at Torbay.† Oxenden was already Regius Professor of Law since 1684; he had just been made Vicar-General, and in 1694 succeeded to the post which was about that time almost a close preserve for Trinity Hall men, the Deanery of the Arches. He was

* Not to be confounded with John Exton, LL.D., Trinity Hall, Admiralty Judge in 1649 and 1661.

† Oxenden was readmitted on February 21, 1689, the first admission being probably considered irregular in the political circumstances.

also Chancellor of the Diocese of London. The Master was a poet, in his own eyes, and a sort of Laureate, apparently, for he composed Latin poems to celebrate the marriage of the Lady Anne in 1683, the death of Charles II., the accession of James II., the birth of the son of James, the accession of William and Mary, the death of Mary, the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the accession of Anne. As they were all indiscriminately eulogistic, he had only wanted opportunity to emulate in his Mastership the adaptability to changes of all the other Masters of Colleges. His time of office was uneventful. Michael Bold, S.C.L., who was elected to the Fellowship vacated by the Master, was one of the not numerous Cambridge Nonjurors, and was deprived for refusing the oaths to William and Mary, 1692. One monument of Dr. Oxenden's days remained till recently. The garden next Garret Hostel Lane was known as the Fellows' Fruit Garden, and here, Warren records, in 1690, Mr. Allen, a Fellow, planted a mulberry-tree towards the east end.* It still bore excellent mulberries till it was necessarily removed to make way for the new Tutor's house in 1879. Another mulberry, planted by Dr. Tenison near the west end of the garden, disappeared earlier. The fir-tree in the centre of the principal court, planted in the memory of Dr. Boord, LL.D., 1664, perhaps in place of Gabriel Harvey's yew-tree, was cut down, being dead, in 1739. In 1704 a stone seat had been set round it.† The horse-chestnut-trees in the 'Fellows' Garden for Walking' were planted in 1710, or a little later in some instances.‡

Oxenden died early in 1703, and George Bramston,

* Warren, p. 18. † *Ibid*, p. 17. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 19.

LL.D., formerly Fellow, deputy Judge of the Admiralty, was elected and admitted February 27, 1703, to succeed him. His Mastership was brief and not momentous. A change occurred in his time of importance to all the University, and especially to Colleges bordering the river. An Act was passed in 1702 for improving the navigation of the river by locks. Not only must fuel and much else have become more attainable, but the raising of the level of the water must have altered the appearance of the river-front of the Trinity Hall Gardens, and have made the river pleasanter in a dry season.

Bramston died in 1710. Sir Nathanael Lloyd, LL.D., King's Advocate, was elected and admitted as Master on June 20, 1710. With his reign begins a series of sweeping changes in the buildings of the College, which transformed the still outwardly mediæval fabric into the dismal eighteenth-century erection, which has been indeed dear to many, but concerning the appearance of which they can only truly say,

'Tis a poor thing, sir, but mine own.'

We are fortunate in possessing Loggan's view, which is reproduced here, taken about 1688. He made views of the other Colleges, but in the case of Trinity Hall it so happened that some of the most extensive alterations in outward appearance belonged to the time shortly after this view was taken. It shows us the great gateway at the Porter's Lodge still unclosed, and no archway through the old east side of the chief court. It is probable that the former was built up when the latter was opened in the eighteenth century. Over the smaller door is a niche for a statue, where perhaps the Founder's likeness had once stood. The building of the monks of

Ely remained much perhaps as Bateman found it, except for the 'Pidgeon house,' and for Tudor windows inserted in the east end. We see the overhanging wooden upper floor in the south wing of the Master's Lodge, but the long gallery to the north is foreshortened and scarcely appears. The Hall is in its old state, but the now demolished oriel is on the side away from us and cannot be seen. Harvey's Tudor doorway and windows appear north of the Hall in the kitchen regions. The old stables and coach-house seem very much as we can remember them. The stately figures who parade the road in front of the College, in wigs and knee breeches, with caps and with gowns that sweep the ground, are Sir Thomas Exton or Dr. Oxenden, or their peers. The undergraduates are confined to their rooms for the occasion, unless the small figure proceeding to the Porter's Lodge be one of them; but it can scarcely be so, for he has turned his back on the passing great man. The irreverent boy playing with a dog is town, not gown. What did undergraduates do in those days, when they were not 'performing exercises' nor attending lectures on law, logic and the Catechism? They fished, contrary to the rights of the town; it is believed that they fought cocks; as they had been forbidden once to play at marbles, perhaps they wanted to do that. As seventeenth-century human nature was the same as nineteenth and twentieth, we may be sure that in the absence of healthy outlets for animal spirits they did mischief. To sum up seventeenth-century men and things, before proceeding to eighteenth-century changes, the benefactions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in addition to those already mentioned, are as follows: Edward Catcher, £100, 1626; Sir George Newman, LL.D., Fellow, £50 in 1627;

William Davenant, £100 to buy books, 1680; Henry Pelsant, Fellow, a house at Wethersfield, Essex, with the furniture and library, 1683; Mr. W. Foster, money to provide rails for the Communion-table in the Chapel, £5 of which was accounted for in 1685; Thomas Cradock, LL.B., £100, 1705; Dr. Oxenden, the Master, left £40 to buy books, by his will, 1703, and in compliance with his directions his widow gave £150 to found a scholarship.* In 1713 Henry Fauconberge, Fellow, left £50. Besides the Masters and others named above, the following had been keeping alive the special reputation of the College: Sir Moundeford Bramston, Fellow, was a Master in Chancery and Chancellor of Winchester. He died in 1679. John Boord was Regius Professor of Law from 1673 to 1684. Sir William Glasscock was Judge of the Admiralty in Ireland, and died 1688. Roger Meredith, Fellow, was Gresham Professor of Law, and a Master in Chancery; he died in 1701. Sir Thomas Pinfold died the same year; he was King's Advocate and Chancellor of Peterborough. Thomas Ayloffe, Fellow, was Regius Professor of Law from 1703 to 1714.

The peculiar character of the College was strongly emphasized by the line of distinction attained by its sons in the seventeenth century. The study of the Civil Law had very largely disappeared from other Colleges in Cambridge. It is worthy of remark that the Regius Professor of Civil Law was a Trinity Hall man, by origin or adoption, in every case from the appointment of Dr. Clark in 1666 till after the resignation of Dr. Abdy in 1873.

* Originally intended for the son of a Kentish clergyman. Oxenden was son of a Kentish Baronet.

Some men were being educated at the College who were more or less eminent in other ways later. Sir Peter Wyche was a member of the College distinguished in other ways. His father, a Turkey merchant, entered him at Exeter College, Oxford, in April, 1643, he being fifteen years old. Oxford during the Civil Wars was not a place of study, and in October, 1644, young Wyche, his father being dead, migrated to Trinity Hall. He took his B.A. in 1645, M.A. in 1648. He travelled abroad, and was knighted abroad by Charles II. in 1660. He was an original member of the Royal Society. He translated Portuguese books on Indian and African geography and history, and prepared and published fifty-two copperplate maps with descriptions of the world. He was sent as Envoy to Russia by Charles II. in 1669, and was for some time afterwards English Envoy at Hamburg. He died in 1699. John Dennis, the poet and critic, who is preserved from deserved oblivion by the *Dunciad*, took his B.A. from Caius in 1679, but migrated in 1680 to Trinity Hall, and took his M.A. there in 1683.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, OR THE DAYS OF WILLIAM WARREN

THE early eighteenth century is made particularly interesting to us from the labours of William Warren, who has preserved so much concerning the College, with notes of particular value about his own time. The collections of Warren, preserved in the College Library, are not a history of the College, but an indispensable aid to all who would study that history. He, in fact, collected the materials for a history, copying many ancient documents, both some of those still existing, and others of which all trace has been lost. He deals with charters, statutes, benefactions, alterations in buildings, and with the more interesting events of his own time. He records the epitaphs of past worthies, but does not as a rule give their lives, and is not careful to trace the history of the studies pursued in the College. Where he tells us so much it is ungracious to ask for more, but his work rather resembles those old county histories which record the charities, the tombstones, the lists of Rectors and of Squires of a parish, their births, deaths, and marriages, but leave out the living touches of a University historian like Fuller or of a county chronicler like

Aubrey. Warren was admitted as a Sizar May 3, 1700, under Dr. Oxenden's Mastership, having then just completed his seventeenth year, for he was born April 27, 1683. He was elected a Fellow September 3, 1712, became LL.D. 1717, and died in the early part of 1745. His age at admittance was about that which was usual. The fact that undergraduates were a little younger than is now the rule explains, of course, some of the regulations concerning their conduct. On the other hand, we may remember that boys were young men sooner in those days than now, for all stages of active life were commenced earlier.

Certain regulations of his time are preserved, which incidentally illustrate the life of the undergraduates in the eighteenth century. It was laid down that Scholars were to behave religiously and devoutly at Divine service. The Scholars were bound to assist in the service; and this direction as to behaviour would seem to apply to them as acolytes, or vergers, or readers, Pensioners not being mentioned.

Men, of course, did not always come to Chapel. It was ordered in 1725 that, as pecuniary mulcts proved ineffectual, a scholar absent more than three times a week shall for the first such offence in a quarter perform an exercise, for the second a copy of verses, for the third a declamation to be recited from memory in the College Hall, and given in to the Master and Fellows written out. These compositions were to be preserved, and too many from one man might delay his degree. Coming in twice after the Psalms counted as once absent. Exercises—impositions, that is—were also imposed for coming in after ten at night.*

* Order Book, January 4, 1724-25.

Every Pensioner and Sizar was to uncover, and remain uncovered, if within the College, so long as the Master or one of the Fellows was in his sight. Presumably, therefore, a man could not turn his back on a Fellow, but had to watch respectfully for his disappearance. Pensioners and Sizars were not to go into the Fellows' Garden. For breach of this rule a fine of sixpence was exacted for the Library Fund. The Fellows' Fruit-Garden was accessible, as now, by the passage through the north side of the Court, and the present iron gate of the 'Fellows' Garden for Walking' was put up after 1742; it was originally in the Screens. No door is shown to this garden in the plan of 1731. Perhaps Scholars were allowed in it, as no fine is mentioned in this case. In the Court the Pensioners and Scholars alike had not merely to avoid the grass, but were expected to skirt the edges of the Court, or take the slanting path which went from the archway leading to the Porter's Court across to the Screens. There was no path across the middle from east to west, but one ran from south to north, on which they were not to trespass on any account. If they broke this rule, or appeared out of their chambers without gown, cap, and bands, or if a Pensioner or Scholar came to Chapel 'in his nightgown, or slippers, or with his shoes unbuckled, or with his stockings untied,' or behaved indecently at the Scholars' table, he was to be fined twopence by any Pensioner or Scholar his senior, except at the Scholars' table, where the fine was to be inflicted by the senior Scholar. The infliction of the fine by a senior was compulsory, and, to add the motive of self-advantage for the senior, the amount was to go towards providing more drink—beer, that is—for the Scholars' table. It is to be feared that the privilege

of appearing at Chapel in a nightgown might now be thought cheap at twopence. But the nightgown of those days was, of course, a dressing-gown.

The men dined in Hall divided into messes, probably of four, and on occasions a mess was honoured by a present sent down from the Fellows' table. On 'Exceeding Days' Pensioners were allowed twelve pence and a bottle of red wine to each mess. 'Whenever any Brawn be sent from the Fellows' table a pint of sack shall be allowed to each mess receiving it.' A pint of sack for the mess was only a large glass of sherry per head. But the Pensioners paid for this, and a man absent from the mess still paid a half-share.*

The graces said in Hall were more elaborate than at present. They bear marks of post-Reformation composition. Besides the omissions of what would necessarily have once been there, the Collect for the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity is introduced in the Latin of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book, not in that of the Sarum Missal. Otherwise the exact date of composition does not appear, but they were in accustomed use in Warren's time, and were printed in 1789.

Before and after *Prandium* on ordinary days the graces were as at present. Before it:

'Quidquid appositum est aut apponetur Christus benedicere dignetur; in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

'R.: Amen.'

After it:

'Benedicamus Domino.

'R.: Deo gratias.

* For rules of behaviour see Warren, *Memorabilia*, 16, after the appendix.

'Agimus Tibi gratias Omnipotens et Sempiterne Deus, pro omnibus Tuis Beneficiis, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia in Sæcula Sæculorum.

'R.: Amen.

'Deus servet Ecclesiam et Regem totamque regiam familiam et regnum, det nobis pacem et post mortem vitam æternam.

'R.: Amen.'

Before and after the *Cœna*, or supper, the graces ran:

'Cœnam sanctificet qui nobis omnia præbet, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.

'R.: Amen.'

And:

'Benedictus sit Deus in Donis Suis.

'R.: Et Sanctus in omnibus operibus suis.

'Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum.

'R.: Ex hoc, nunc, usque et in sæcula.

'Tua nos Domine gratia semper præveniat et sequatur, et bonis operibus præstet nos esse intentos, per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum.

'R.: Amen.

'Deus servet Ecclesiam et Regem,' etc., as now.

But on Sundays and feast-days dinner was ushered in and out by another form. Before dinner this was recited:

'Benedic nobis Domine, et donis Tuis quæ de largitate Tua sumpturi sumus; per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum.

'R.: Amen.

'Mensæ Cælestis participes nos facias, Rex Æterne Ecclesiæ.

'R.: Amen.

'Deus est Charitas; et qui manet in charitate manet in Deo, et Deus in eo.

'Sit Deus in nobis et nos maneamus in Illo.

'R.: Amen.'

After dinner there came:

'Tibi Laus, Tibi Gloria, Tibi gratiarum actio, in sæcula sempiterna, O! Beata Trinitas.

'R.: Amen.

'Benedicamus Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

'R.: Laudemus et exaltemus Nomen Eius in Sæcula.

'Agimus Tibi gratias Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus, pro omnibus Tuis Beneficiis, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia in sæcula sæculorum.

'R.: Amen.

'Deus servet Ecclesiam et Regem totamque regiam familiam et regnum, det nobis pacem et post mortem vitam æternam.

'R.: Amen.'

That some of this was once sung, intoned at least, is very likely. The gallery in Hall was primarily intended for a band or choir, and where there was a Chapel there once had been men or boys who sang. But the Civil War period probably saw the end of this, and the Chapel services became often mere reading of prayers. As we have seen, the desk for the Latin chapter still stood in the Hall up to 1742. One almost thinks that so vandalic an age would have got rid of it if it were not used.* The practice of disputation for the degrees in Law kept up a certain current familiarity with a kind

* By Dr. Busby's benefaction in 1577 it appears that the chapter was still read then. But this is another of the customs which may have lapsed with the Civil Wars and the almost complete secularization of the College.

of Latin in speech as well as in books. When the disputation became fictitious, it was still necessary for men to understand the language in which the performance was carried on. Even in the earlier nineteenth century Sir Henry Maine, as Tutor, coming from another College, remarked, not upon the scholarship of the Trinity Hall men, but upon a certain approach to familiarity with Latin as a spoken tongue, which sprang from the keeping of Acts in Law, after the practice had been abandoned in Arts. He mentioned the point to the present Master. In spite of perfunctory lectures and generally ill-directed studies, some of the boys, if so minded, certainly could pick up learning. Warren himself was an antiquary of great industry and information who had passed his life in the College. One Carte, with no Christian name given, was entered in 1703, and took his name off without a degree in 1708. We would fain believe him to be the learned Jacobite historian, but he is also claimed by King's as M.A. in 1706.

Learning was not avowedly neglected. Undergraduates were kept up to the mark, and were expected to know something when they were admitted. There was an entrance examination from 1706. It was ordered that no Pensioner or Sizar was to be admitted without examination by the Master, President, a Lecturer, or a Fellow.* We cannot affirm that the examination was not serious; it probably was in grammar chiefly. There were constant exercises to be kept. It was ordered in 1708 -

'that no one is to be required to keep Exercises in the Monday case till he has been resident in this or another College for one term. After which term Sizars as well as

* Order Book, 10, January 11, 1705-6.

Pensioners shall in their turn put up two Logic Questions to defend, and make a Thesis upon one of them, and every Scholar in this case shall be prepared with one argument against each Question, to be called out at the Lecturer's pleasure, and those that are not called out shall give their arguments fair wrote to the Lecturer. Present Scholars to be excused only upon sickness. Otherwise to be punished *toties quoties*.

'Declamations are to be made every Saturday in Term by Sizars and Pensioners, in their turns; this Exercise to be performed before the Logick Lecturers.'*

Disputations might become formal, but this implies a certain education in readiness of thought and speech.

The Library had in it much curious learning, which perhaps was turned to more account by some because of the absence of the engrossing claims of systematic study for competitive examinations. Above all, the undergraduates of those days were not seriously engaged in sports. The mass no doubt suffered. Youthful energies were denied healthy outlets, and inns and worse were constantly legislated against by the University in consequence. But only one road to honour was open to the ambitious, and that was the path which led to academic distinction.

Some side-light is thrown upon the manners of the time by a College order of January 10, 1702, on the emoluments of the Porter of the College.† He was to be supplied with commons in the 'cowcher,' his room in the Porter's Lodge, and one shilling a week. But he was also College gardener, for which he received £4 4s. a year, finding his own brooms. For weeding he was

* Order Book, 20, January 8, 1707-8.

† Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. i.

[illegible] Fellows, [illegible] Scholars and Sizars in residence, [illegible] walking about the less [illegible]. He had in addition a long [illegible] Master, Fellows, and Fellow Commoners [illegible] Scholars [illegible] a quarter, [illegible] Admission-fees—of a Fellow [illegible] of a Scholar of the House, 1s.; of [illegible] On the admission of [illegible] On the [illegible] For every Bachelor of [illegible] for a B.A. degree, 2s.; [illegible] for the admission of a [illegible] These admission and degree fees were [illegible] the quarterage was [illegible] to the [illegible] from which Sizars were excused. The [illegible] Scholars—in Hall, I suppose. [illegible] for this confounds Pensioners and Scholars, [illegible] per week Pensioners, [illegible] Scholars. He also received a [illegible] and 10s. for candles. He [illegible] as the value of money [illegible]

The numbers in the College were larger than they were fifty years ago. In 1728 they included the Master, twelve Fellows, not all resident continually, fourteen Scholars, one Exhibitioner, and fifty-five 'Students of all sorts'—that is, forty Fellow Commoners undergraduate, Pensioners and Sizars.* Eleven Colleges in Cambridge had then more men, and four had less—Corpus,

* *Cooper, Additions and Corrections*, quoting Cole MSS., xxxi.,

Catherine Hall, Magdalene and Sidney. But Peterhouse had only three more, and Pembroke only six more. There would not have been room for all these in the College if two or more men had not shared the same rooms in some cases. Fellows presumably had rooms to themselves, unless poor Scholars, like Busby's Scholars who waited on the Master or a Senior Fellow and were under his tuition, slept in his rooms.*

Warren has kept for us a minute account of the rooms in College at this time, their rents, and the dates of certain alterations in them.† The present Trinity Hall man must remember that the Latham Buildings were then non-existent, that the east side of the chief court has been rebuilt, and that the east side of the smaller court, where the Porter's Lodge then was, has been rebuilt, leading to alterations in the rooms next to it over the passage between the courts, and that the west side of that court is also new. Warren starts from the rooms under the Library.

1. 'The Chamber under ye Library West. Has ye Arms of ye Stuarts in it over ye Chimney. I believe these Arms were put up there over a hundred years ago.' The rent was *£3*.

These arms were those of Sir Simeon Steward (ob. 1629), who was a Fellow Commoner in his later life, and, according to Fuller,‡ had his arms set up in his chamber. The arms are not there now.

2. 'The next eastward.' The rent was £3.

* It was by no means uncommon for a servant to sleep in his master's room in private houses, or even in palaces, later than this.

† Warren, pp. 37-39.

‡ Fuller, *Worthies*, edit. 1662, p. 169.

These were the rooms of the present Master as Tutor of the College from 1861.

3. 'The Chamber over ye Butteries. I have been told y^t^ this chamber was wainscotted by Dr. King or Mr. Glisson. Perhaps it might have been by both.' The rent was £4.

Dr. King was the Royalist Master. Mr. Glisson was admitted a Fellow in 1633.* The present panelling is later, except in the bedroom and gyp room.

4. 'The Chamber over ye Parlour.' The rent was £1.

That is, over the old Combination-Room, now two sets of attics.

5. 'The upper Chamber on ye N. side westward. This Chamber was sash'd by Dr. Dickins 1725. He afterwards Wainscotted it, and set up a Marble Chimney piece, &c. These things he has given to ye College.' The rent was £4.

Francis Dickins was Regius Professor of Law 1714-1755. The wainscot, chimney-piece, and Dr. Dickins' arms, dated 1730, are there still. These rooms were those of the Rev. F. L. Hopkins, Dean and Tutor, and of Mr. Leslie Stephen as a B.A.

6. 'The Chamber under it. Dr. Monson who has this Chamber at present, sash'd it towards ye Court, and made some other alterations in it about 1725. Mr. Page (a Fellow Commoner who had it before) wainscotted ye Little Room next to ye Fellows Garden.' The rent was £4. If taken by a Fellow it was to be £1.

This is the Classical Lecture Room now. Before the enlargement of the Hall the Scholars dined here, *circa*

* He has been confounded with Francis Glisson, of Caius, Regius Professor of Physic.

1868-1873. Henry Monson was admitted a Fellow in 1724. He was Regius Professor of Law 1753-1757. His wainscot still exists.

7. 'The next upper Chamber eastward. This Chamber was wainscotted time out of mind, perhaps in Queen Elizabeth's time. The Founder's Arms on ye Cieling. The room sash'd in ye year 1725 by Dr. Andrew. The Little room next to ye Fellows garden wainscotted and sash'd many years before by Dr. Brookbank, I think about 1702 or 1703.' The rent was £4.

Dr. Andrew was admitted a Fellow in 1705; he was Chancellor of London. Dr. Brookbank (ὑδροπότης) was admitted in 1679. The Founder's arms have gone, but the panelling is particularly beautiful and elaborate, of late sixteenth-century style. The room is now the Mathematical Lecture Room.

8. 'The Chamber under it. Sash'd towards the Court 1727. P^d^ for ye outside work £15 01^s^ 06^d^ by Sr Nathl Lloyd.' The rent was £3.

This was done by the Master at the College expense, the builder employed being James Essex.* The window towards the garden was altered later, apparently. These rooms were once wainscotted, but it evidently was done after Warren's time. Some of the framework is remaining. The writer must be excused a peculiar interest in them.

9. 'The next upper Chamber eastward. Wainscotted time out of mind, perhaps by Dr. Eden ("the Master") who probably kept in this Chamber. I find his Name written with his own Hand with a Diamond on ye Glass

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. iii. The date is August 26, 1727.

window in two places in ye Little room which I make my Bedchamber next to ye Fellows Garden. The three windows of this Chamber next to ye Court sash'd in 1727. P^d^ for the outside work by Sr Nathan^l^ Lloyd £14 19s. 0d. The Cellar in ye Coal-hole under ye Staircase dug 1720. Staircase lin'd 1723.' The rent was £4.

These were Warren's own rooms, and were also occupied by Sir Henry Maine, and by the present Master as Junior Tutor, and by Professor Fawcett. The panelling is gone. Some of it was in the attic, but was removed to make a screen in the new Combination-Room. The Master ordered the work here to be done at the College expense, as in No. 8.

10. 'The Chamber under it. Sash'd towards the Court 1727. It was Wainscotted many years before. I think about ye year 1710.' The rent was £8, occupied by a Fellow Commoner. If taken by a Fellow it was to be £5.

The wainscot has disappeared.

11. 'The next upper Chamber eastward. Sash'd by Dr. Johnson 1721. Wainscotted afterwards by Dr. Peek. Dr. Johnson had wainscotted part before.' The rent was £4.

Dr. Johnson was admitted a Fellow in 1698. He was Chancellor of the Diocese of Ely, and died in 1727. Dr. Peek was admitted in 1717. He was also Chancellor of Ely, and died at a great age in 1777. Their wainscotting exists.

12. 'The Chamber under it. Sash'd 1727. Wainscotted some years before. Cellar dug in ye Coal-hole about 1721.' The rent was £3.

The wainscot has disappeared.

13. 'The N. Chamber in ye East side. Wainscotted time

out of mind, perhaps in Q. Elizabeth's time. Dr. Nichols made alterations in ye wainscotting, &c., about 1729. The Picture of St. Christopher on a Pane of Glass.' The rent was £4.

Dr. Nichols, Fellow, was expelled from the College and from the University for stealing books out of St. John's College Library, Trinity College and the University Library in 1731. He had come from Oxford and was M.A. of Brasenose. Lloyd had got him elected a Fellow, and is said to have been much put out by his behaviour, and to have left money to the College as a *solatium*. These rooms and the seven following, up to and including 20, were burnt in 1852. These rooms and those below were probably the old house called Draxesentre, acquired in 1354.

14. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £3.

15. 'The next upper Chamber toward ye South.' The rent was £3.

16. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £3.

17. 'The next upper Chamber S. Sash'd and Wainscotted, Chimney fitted up with Marble, &c., about 1722. A new Chimney built in ye Garret 1730.' The rent was £3.

18. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £3.

19. 'The next upper Chamber S.' The rent was £4.

20. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £3.

21. 'The next Chamber eastward on ye S. side.' The rent was £3.

These were Mr. Beck's rooms as an undergraduate.

22. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £1.

23. 'The next upper Chamber westward.' The rent was £4.

24. 'The Chamber under it.' The rent was £3.

25. 'The Chamber next ye Chappel. This was ye old Library, as we have it by Tradition.' The rent was £4.

26. 'The Upper Chamber Southward. I have been told y^t^ this was Dr. Hervy's chamber, and fitted up by him.' The rent was £4.

This was Harvey, the Master of Elizabeth's reign.

These rooms have been destroyed, or completely altered, by the rebuilding of the east side of the smaller court. They used to be accessible by a staircase from the chief court.

27. 'The Chamber over ye gate.' The rent was £4.

28. 'The next Chamber on ye same staircase southward. Paid for sashing this Chamber by Sr Nathl Lloyd £05 05^s^ 00^d^.' * The rent was £3.

These last rooms, No. 27 and 28, have of course been destroyed by the rebuilding of the smaller court. An old ground-floor room underneath these is unaccounted for.

The garrets also are all passed over. Loggan's view of 1688 shows their windows along the north, east and south sides of the chief court, and above the gateway in the smaller court. They were probably dormitories for Pensioners, Sizars and poor Scholars, and help to account for the room necessary for the inhabitants of the College. They were still let with the rooms below them forty years ago.

The College accounts show that men paid rent for 'part of a chamber.' The rents were increased if '2 or more Pensioners keep in a Chamber,' showing that this was contemplated. In a £3 set of rooms each of

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. iii. It was again a College payment.

several occupants paid £2 each; in a £4 set of rooms they paid £3 each. The very cheap £1 rooms are two on the ground-floor, which took no attics along with them, or in one case the only attic mentioned, the room over the parlour.

Fellows were to see that their pupils kept their chambers in good repair; and very possibly the pupils kept above their special guardian, when they did not sleep in their Tutor's rooms.

It appears that the insertion of sash windows was considered a great improvement to the rooms. But Sir Nathanael Lloyd, who had been so prominent in causing this to be done, was anxious to carry alterations further, and to leave the stamp of the age of prose upon the whole of the beautiful old buildings. He contemplated in 1724 pulling down the whole of the south front of the north side of the court, and rebuilding it in Portland stone. This was not done then, but in 1728 he caused a brick parapet with a stone facing to be carried along this side, with a stone cornice and coping upon it, the whole being plastered with 'hard finishing,' which was also smeared over the wall below. Two stone doorcases, with 'architrave, frieze, cornice, and a pitch pediment,' were also inserted in this side, the whole costing only £168.* The effect was so highly approved that the same treatment was shortly applied to the opposite side. In Warren's words,†

'In ye same years' (1729-30) 'ye outside of our chapel fronting ye North was plaister'd with Hard-finishing, as was also that whole side of ye Court. The Chamber windows of it were sash'd; the Garret windows were alter'd, and a Parapet wall built ye whole length. The

* Comput. Coll., 1728. † Warren, appendix, p. 404.

opposite side of ye Court (viz. ye North Side fronting ye South) had been done a year or two before, much in ye same manner; but some of ye Chamber windows had been sash'd at different times before. The Founder's arms were set up cut in Stone. The Sun Dyal on ye Chimney new done with ye Motto w'ch had been on it before, viz. *Fumus et Umbra.*'

The inside of the chapel did not escape the misdirected zeal of Dr. Lloyd for embellishment. Two of the three altars had, of course, disappeared long before. The small room at the east end, formerly perhaps a vestry, since a cellar, still communicated with the Chapel, and was used as the College Treasury. What the interior of the Chapel was like is recorded by Warren:

'The Stalls for ye Master and Fellows (which Stalls are 24) and ye Wainscot behind them, as also ye Desks for ye Master and Fellows, ye Bench Seats also and Desks for ye Scholars, were probably set up in Dr Hervy's time. The Stalls of Oak. The Cieling, being Timber-work, Pannels and Knobs, is painted, and there are ye Founders Arms, and ye Arms also of ye See of Norwich here and there painted on it. In each of ye 4 Windows of ye Chapel some small Matter of Painted Glass, particularly the Founder's Arms, and these words *Summæ Trinitati* 1566. 'Tis true indeed ye Glass that had those words on it, formerly intire, is now broken in some places, and some of ye Letters are misplac'd, and some lost. The window in ye Ante-Chapel has no painted Glass in it. The Arras-Hanging at the Altar-piece (being our B. Saviour Betray'd) was put up there in pursuance of Dr Eden's will.* The rails inclosing ye Communion Table were set up about

* Inaccurate. His will (*vide supra*) left money for an Arras hanging in the Hall. Two may have been bought for the money.

A.D. 1685* at ye charge of Mr Foster. On ye Pulpit (which stands just outside ye Rails South) lyes a Silk Cushion which is placed upon ye President's Desk for ye use of ye Orator, whenever he makes ye Commemoration Speech according to Dr Eden's Foundation.'†

Warren goes on to say that the Chapel was nearly burnt down on the night of Thursday, November 12, 1719. A candle fell down after Evening Service, and smouldered unperceived under a hassock, whereby a hassock or two and part of the wainscot was burnt. But it had not done more than smoulder all night, and was discovered and extinguished when Morning Service was about to begin. Incidentally from this we learn that Evening Chapel was over between six and seven, and that Morning Chapel began at seven. It was well to legislate against coming to Chapel in a nightgown.

Partly, perhaps, moved by a remembrance of this accident, John Chetwode, LL.D., Fellow, founded a scholarship, the holder of which was to be responsible for the candles in the Chapel, among other things. Chetwode gave £150, and his sister added £100, in discharge of a legacy of the income derived from his Fellowship, which he wished to be restored to the College. The order for Chetwode's Scholar is dated January 18, 1734-35. The Scholar is to have the key of the Chapel, open and shut the door before and after service, light and put out the candles, and take care of the books and furniture. He is to toll the Chapel bell for service, attend the Reader, and mark absentees. He is never to be absent when service is held, unless at his own charge he can provide an approved *locum*

* In 1685. Comput. Coll., December, 1685.

† Warren, p. 23.

*tenens.** He was Chapel Clerk, and he was so called afterwards.

When the Chapel was altered, Chetwode gave the picture which remains as an altar-piece—'The Presentation in the Temple,' by Stella. Warren says that Chetwode's father, the Dean of Gloucester, bought it, with three others 'of the same size,' in Flanders. Perhaps the size was the chief recommendation.

However, to return to the alterations in the Chapel. In 1729, says Warren,†

'Sometime before Midsummer ye old Wainscot and Stalls &c' in ye Chapel were begun to be taken down, ye Stone and brick pavement taken up, the Grave design'd for ye Master in ye Southeast corner of ye Chapel digged and lined with brick by his own order; the whole Chapel repair'd, and new wainscott'd, and paved with marble, and beautify'd at ye charge of ye Master Sir Nathanael Lloyd out of ye Thousand Pounds which he had before given to the College, except ye Picture for ye Altar Piece in a gilded frame given by Dr Chetwode.'

While the 'beautification' was proceeding, prayers were read in the Hall or the Combination-Room, according to convenience, till April 16, 1730, but the work was not finished till December, 1730. Dr. Hewke's brass, and the one next to it, were removed into the Ante-Chapel, the place of Dr. Hewke's grave being marked by a stone. Dr. Eden's, Dr. Preston's, Dr. Cowell's, and Dr. King's gravestones were left in place, except that Dr. Eden's was placed rather lower down. Darnelly's‡ and Maptyd's (Moptyd's) brass plates were

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers: the Old Vellum Book.

† Warren, appendix, p. 398.

‡ Dr. Darnelly, Fellow, died 1659.

actually restored to near where they had been before, being brought back from the banishment to the Ante-Chapel to which Dr. Hewke was condemned. All the windows were altered. Such painted glass as had survived Dowsing was taken away. The old oak wainscot of the Chapel was put in the Ante-Chapel, and, of course, painted. The old Arras hanging over the altar was replaced by Dr. Chetwode's picture, 12 feet 4 inches by 8 feet. A new wainscot, painted, was put round the Chapel. The wooden altar-rails were replaced by iron rails. The side-walls and west end of the Chapel were covered with stucco. The great cross-beam of the roof was taken away. 'The Cieling wrought curiously in stucco, and work'd into 25 Panels with Heliotropes, and Shields for Arms, and Mitres gilded, and more particularly so in that part of ye Cieling which is over ye Altar.'

An iron lectern, a blue velvet altar-cloth, blue velvet cushions with gold lace, blue frieze cushions for the humbler Pensioners to kneel upon, blue silk damask curtains for the Master's and President's* seats, completed the ecclesiologically very incorrect decoration. The old door from the Master's Lodge to the Ante-Chapel was stopped up, and a new one made opposite to the altar. The result was the conversion of a building which had retained the ecclesiastical character of Elizabeth's reign at least, with probable traces of something earlier, into what Cole calls 'a neat and elegant small room.' The arms in the ceiling, probably

* The President was the Senior Fellow in the Master's absence. So many Masters filled public offices—Lloyd, for instance, was King's Advocate; Oxenden had been Dean of the Arches; Simpson, Lloyd's successor, was also Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury—that a *locum tenens* was desirable.

put up under Warren's own direction, were those borne by the Founder, Archbishop Sudbury, Bishop Nykke, Bishop Gardiner, Archbishop Parker, Robert Goodknape, Laurence Moptyd, Dr. Mowse, Dr. Eden, Dr. Busby, Simon Dallyng, Dr. Hewke, Gabriel Donne, Dr. Harvey.

Dr. Chetwode, who gave the altar-piece, was also the restorer of the Combination-Room about the same time. What it had been we know not,* but he made better work of it than was made of the Chapel. The century was stronger in domestic than in ecclesiastical art.

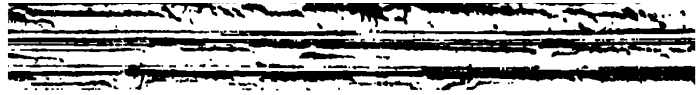
At his own expense, in 1730 and 1731, Chetwode put up new wainscotting, opened the door from the Combination-Room into the Library, put up a new marble chimney-piece, with the College arms in marble and the Founder's arms in oak above it, and furnished the room with two mahogany tables and seventeen chairs in place of the tables and forms which had been there. He also provided 'furniture for ye Chimney'—*query* fireirons—'a bofett,' mahogany window-seats, a marble table for the sideboard on a mahogany stand, brass locks, etc. Mahogany was only just introduced into England, and was very costly.† The whole of Chetwode's alterations cost above £400; but his work included structural alterations. He sashed the new

* Except that, having been rebuilt by Harvey in 1563, it was probably still an Elizabethan room, wainscotted, and without sashed windows, in which the Fellows sat on forms, such no doubt as grace the bar parlour of a country inn.

† By Woollaston, a famous cabinet-maker, who was first employed to make mahogany furniture by the Duchess of Buckinghamshire, natural daughter of James II. and wife of the Duke who died in 1721. Chetwode's mahogany is some of the very earliest in England certainly dated.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

DR. CHETWODE'S MANTELPIECE IN THE OLD COMBINATION-ROOM



windows of the room, repaired the floor and ceiling, put new stone steps to the bottom, and oak steps further up the flight of stairs leading to the Combination-Room, lined the staircase with painted deal, and put in a 'Venetian window' at the stair-head. The College put up his arms opposite the fireplace.*

One of Chetwode's mahogany tables still exists. It stands, or stood, in the Mathematical Lecture Room. The other used to be taken out into the garden for the Fellows' wine in the summer, and, being left out, became rotten, and is supposed to have perished. But *circa* 1869-70, the writer remembers that the First Boat had their wine at it in the gardens when in training for the May races. It was quite black with age. The table which now stands in the new Combination-Room, with the ingenious device for running the decanters across the fire, was bought by Dr. Roupell from some London club in 1838. Its crescent shape has led visitors to suppose that it is a relic of the Founder's, or at least of Dr. Eden's, days.

The College blocked a large window on the west side of the room, and rearranged two of the north windows by altering the kitchen chimney, which went between them.† The Combination-Room, so treated, remained substantially unchanged till it was superseded by the new room and turned into the ante-room to the Library. The new opening, made in 1730, into the Library, probably caused the blocking up of the original Library door, though Warren does not specify the change.

Sir Nathanael Lloyd, who had presided over the great

* Warren, p. 34.

† Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. iii.

changes which had transformed the appearance of the chief court and of the Chapel, resigned the Mastership in 1735. On November 7, 1735, Edward Simpson, LL.D., Fellow, was admitted Master. He attained to what we may almost call the usual preferments. He was M.P. for Dover; in 1747 he was Judge of the Consistory Court of London; in 1758 he was Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and was knighted. Sir Nathanael's zeal for restoration continued to work under Simpson's Mastership. Lloyd died in 1741, and by his will, dated November 2, 1740, he left £3,000 'to raise the Hall conform to the Chapel there on the south, the east side with a handsome gate in the middle towards Caius, which I give to these purposes so far as it will go.'*

What the Hall was like we have seen. In 1742 James Essex junior, the builder, who was guilty of much in Cambridge, and James Burrough, Esq., of Caius, one of the Esquire Bedells, who acted as architect, were set on to work their will. They did not actually pull down the old walls of the Hall, but they cased them with Ketton stone; they pulled down the oriel, they panelled the inside up to 10 feet, and plastered it above. They destroyed the old open-roof, and put up a flat plaster ceiling with an appropriate ornament in the middle. They put in four sash windows on each side above the panelling. They abolished the old fireplace in the middle of the floor, and put in the fireplace in the west wall, with a marble chimneypiece. The gallery was rebuilt. They took away the old screens and doors, and put in the present

* Warren, pp. 464 *et seq.*

screens.* Round the high table loftier panelling was introduced, enriched by Corinthian pilasters. Dr. Eden's Arras Tapestry of a Roman Triumph was taken away, and Sir Nathanael Lloyd, at full length, in his robes, was set up to preside for ever over his posthumous outrages.

Gratitude to the modern architect, who, in the late alterations, so skilfully preserved what had become the ancient features of the Hall, is compatible with regret for the destruction of one of the most venerable buildings in the University, and its replacing by one 'in a most elegant taste.' The rest of the court was shortly afterwards cased in stone, and the front towards Caius altered. An entrance was made there, the external upper windows treated like those in the interior of the court, the lower ones made circular, with heavy semi-circular, overlapping labels. This front, destroyed after the fire of 1852, is shown in Ackermann's print of a view of King's Chapel.

The desire for alteration continued, and a yet more ambitious scheme was propounded, though never executed. In 1747 died John Andrew, LL.D., formerly Fellow, Judge of the Consistory Court of London, where he preceded Dr. Simpson, the Master. He left £20,000, or money which was to accumulate to that amount, towards the carrying out of a plan, which had been already propounded in 1745, of rebuilding and extending the College towards the river. In the College Library there is a design, signed James Burrough and James Essex junior, 1745, which shows what was

* At first with an open ironwork door in the centre. This proving draughty, it was removed to the entrance of the 'Fellows' Garden for Walking,' where it still is, and a wooden door substituted.

intended. The Master's Lodge and the Elizabethan Library are replaced in it by large buildings of a ground-floor, an upper storey and an attic floor, reaching westward considerably further than the present buildings go, with short wings thrown back north and south from their extremities. The north extension starts from the old site of the stables, north of the Library, which is to be swept away. The whole is in the style to which the chief court had been reduced. In front of this, about halfway down the gardens, was to be a terrace with an iron railing along it, and steps down from the centre to the lower level next the river. The whole is not unlike the meaner parts of Buckingham Palace, as seen from the Buckingham Palace Road.

Fortunately, perhaps, the actual enjoyment of the legacy was not offered to the generation which was so eager to rebuild. The Andrew estate passed first to tenants for life, the last of whom, Mrs. Lois Andrew, died in 1793. Dr. Andrew had saddled his bequest with further conditions relating to scholarships and Fellowships to be appropriated to the Merchant Taylors' School. These the College wished to evade. Chancery proceedings followed; but the College decided, on December 31, 1793, that the trust, as it stood, could not be accepted, as being detrimental to the interests of the College, and ultimately the money, or what was left of it, was handed over to St. John's College, Oxford, to carry out the testator's wishes *cy près*. The best point about the scheme was that it included the demolition of the wall and passage from the Lodge to the Library. This was done, however, without further devastations being made.

The gardens, which were to be transformed along with the buildings by this scheme, may be described in Warren's word, as they were at this time.

'THE FELLOWS TERRAS GARDEN.

'This Garden is in Length from ye Wall (joyning ye Master's Gallery to ye Library) to ye Outside of ye opposite Wall y^t^ is washed by ye River, 236 Feet. In Breadth about 106 Feet in ye middle.'

This is about accurate; the eastern end is wider than the western.

'On a Stone in ye Wall by ye Terras-walk, on ye outside next ye River, is a Crescent Ermine cut within a Bordure Ingrayl'd.' 'On another Stone near ye former is a Coat of Arms (viz. A Fess Dauncette between 3 Eagles display'd, Sir George Newman's Arms), underneath which are these words: *Ex Labore Immortalitas.* Between ye two Stones, *Anno Domini* 1619.'

Thirty years ago the arms were visible under the ivy, and are probably there still. I never saw the inscriptions.

'These two Stones were taken from ye old Sum̃er House (which was built over ye River) and plac'd in ye wall where they are at present. The Summer-house was taken down Anno Dom. 1708. The Foundation of it is still to be seen in ye Water.'*

'The Horse Chesnut Trees by ye Wall next Clare Hall, were set about 1710, except two or three of y^m^ which were set some years later.'

* Loggan's view shows two buildings, one at each corner of the garden next the river, with a battlemented wall between. The summer-house is probably the one next Clare.

'The Yew Hedges were planted A.D. 1705. Cost £16 : 03^{s} : 01½^{d}.'*

'The Two Seats on ye Terras-Walk were set up, That next Clare Hall A.D. 1706, and cost £10 : 10 : 00: That at ye other end of ye Walk A.D. 1708, and cost £09 : 10 : 00.'

'The Four Leaden Figures†—That with ye Book and Pen representing Learning, That with Castle, Key, and Lion, Cybele, That with Sword and Cap, Liberty, That with Sword and Blindfold, Justice; each Five Foot, nine Inches high, on Pedestals 3 Foot, 6 Inches high, were given to ye College by Sir Nathanael Lloyd. They cost him Seventy-nine Pounds, and were set up in September A.D. 1722.'

'Dr. Johnson gave ye Brass Dyal Plate. It was fix'd on ye top of ye Wall next ye River, April 27, 1726.‡

'A.D. 1735. The Wall in ye Fellows Garden, at ye Terras Walk next to ye River, was coped with Portland Stone, which cost £18 : 00 : 00: And ye Sun-dyal on ye Wall was new set; And ye Meridian drawn with ye Date, signifying when it was done, thus, Meridian—MDCCXXXV.'§

The terrace is now, of course, a sloping bank, and the whole of the garden is lawn, with one flower-bed along the north wall, and a walk by it and along the river

* To judge from the plan of 1731 (College Library), the yew hedges were round four grass plots, divided by walks. Only on the side towards Clare, where the young chestnuts were, the grass had no hedges by it. But in Loggan's view (*q.v.*) there are only two grass plots and hedges round each.

† So far Warren, p. 19. He says that the figures represented the Four Seasons. He adds, in his appendix No. xxxii., about Lloyd's figures. Evidently the Seasons became dilapidated, and were replaced by Cybele, etc., and Warren wrote up his appendices as changes were made. Cybele, etc., have followed the changing Seasons now.

‡ Warren, appendix liii. Only the place where the dial was is now visible.

§ Warren, appendix cxxv.

wall. These alterations were carried out in the early nineteenth century. The garden to the north of the 'Fellows' Garden for Walking' was, by the plan and by Loggan's view, in much the same condition as that in which it was before the new Latham Buildings were erected in 1889. The avenue of limes from near the end of the Library seems to be marked in the view, not of course grown to any height, with small trees along the southern side also. In the plan, however, of 1731 only a single row of trees is marked round three sides of the garden, with none on the southern side next the Fellows' garden wall.

The Fellows' Fruit-Garden, towards Garret Hostel Lane, in Loggan's view, has apparently fruit-trees trained along the walls, a lawn to the east, flower-beds in the centre, and vegetable-beds to the west. In the plan it is dotted all over with standard trees. The Master's garden, west of it, is full of little trees in Loggan, and has trees only at the extreme west end in the plan. As the plan does not mark the chestnut-trees in the 'Fellows' Garden for Walking,' which were twenty years old, and therefore fairly grown when it was made, it is perhaps not so trustworthy as Loggan for such details.

CHAPTER X

THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE earlier half of the eighteenth century was a time when architects like Borrough and Essex were busy in reducing a good many of the buildings in Cambridge to a state of decorous dulness, which answered very fairly to the general condition of the place. The Colleges must many of them have spent a good deal on building about that time, and the University completed the Senate House in 1730, and disfigured the fifteenth-century Library in 1754. But the life of the University was stagnant. Trinity Hall was no exception.

While the hive was being renovated, the bees were growing less. We have seen that in 1728 there were 55 students of all sorts, besides the Master and 12 Fellows. This was near the usual number since the sixteenth century, rather more than were resident in that century, and quite as many as the buildings would hold. Dr. Caius' history, in Elizabeth's reign, about 1573, says that there were 10 Fellows, 9 Scholars, 33 Pensioners, and 5 ministers—to wit, a cook, butler, steward, scullion, and porter. But there were then 12 Fellowships, certainly 1 Fellow Commoner, Henry Howard, and in 1574 Thomas Tusser, as a 'servant,' but probably not cook nor filling any other of the

ministerial offices named by Caius. According to Fuller, the Fellows, Scholars, students, and servants were threescore in 1634. In 1641 59 members of the College contributed to the poll-tax for getting the Scots out of England and disbanding the English army. In 1672 the total numbers were 68, including 12 Fellows, 14 Scholars, students, and servants of the foundation. That means probably 37 Fellow Commoners, Pensioners and Sizars. In 1728 the numbers are even larger, it would seem; but in 1743 Blomefield, in his *Collectanea*, states that there were 10 Scholars and 10 Pensioners only. Carter, who is not very accurate, speaks a few years later of the total numbers of Fellows, Scholars, etc., being usually about 50, so that Blomefield may be in error. Subsequently, however, the numbers were certainly smaller. The study of the Civil Law was not quite what it had been.* Still, it was the road to practice and preferment in the Ecclesiastical Courts, but it was not the necessary school for the higher diplomacy, as it had been once considered. This was acknowledged when George I. founded the Modern History Chair in 1724, and ordered select students, not under the degree of B.A., unless they were Fellow Commoners, to be put down to the study of modern history and languages, in order to supply the public services. Only one of the twenty-six nominated students came from Trinity Hall. Noblemen over and above the number might attend at pleasure.

* Gibbon's famous forty-fourth chapter on the Roman Law refers in the notes to one single English author, Arthur Duck, *de Usu et Auctoritate Juris Civilis*, on the use of the Civil Law in Europe. He quotes Selden in illustration; but there were no English writers worth his consulting on the law itself.

Apart from the Civil Law School, the University, as a whole, was in a bad state, and only a limited number of the resident Fellows were interested in any learned pursuit. The pictures drawn in Gray's letters of the dulness of University life may owe some of their dark shades to his habit of looking at the melancholy side of things, but are like the truth, and are borne out by the accounts of others. But among Gray's correspondents was Mr. Nicholls, of Trinity Hall, not resident, whom he finds one of the most intelligent and interesting young men of his acquaintance.

A few distinguished men of the period had been educated at Trinity Hall. Philip Dormer Stanhope, afterwards Earl of Chesterfield, was a Fellow Commoner, as a boy, from 1712 to 1714, in the latter part of Queen Anne's reign. He was given his M.A. in 1714. The family owned Cambridgeshire property. He was born in 1694, and was a member of the House of Commons as soon as he became of age. His fame as a fine gentleman, and his want of fame as Johnson's patron, have rather obscured his considerable abilities. He is notable in literature as author of the *Letters;* he was a successful Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at a critical time (1745); an Ambassador full of address and firmness at the Hague twice; Secretary of State for a year and a half (1746-48); and a political prophet, who foretold the French Revolution thirty years before it came to pass. He was, we must admit, also expecting to see the ruin of England.

The Earl of Holderness was at Trinity Hall about the time of Lloyd's resignation of the Mastership. He was one of the Whig aristocracy who were born to high office—he was Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding at

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE COURT, THE HALL, AND THE CHAPEL

two-and-twenty—but his abilities were not great. He was, though, as Secretary of State, a colleague to the elder Pitt in the great Ministry, 1757-61, which conquered Canada and India and ruined the House of Bourbon. He was born in 1718 and died in 1778. A really far abler contemporary of his was William de Grey, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1771, created Lord Walsingham. He was born in 1719, took his degree of LL.B. in 1742, was member for the University in 1770, and died in 1781.* The usual roll of not highly-distinguished Bishops is continued. Adam Ottley, Fellow, was Bishop of St. David's in 1712, and died in 1723. Richard Reynolds was Bishop of Bangor in 1721, and of Lincoln in 1723, and died in 1744; and, to go on through the century, Samuel Hallifax, Fellow was Bishop of Gloucester in 1781, and of St. Asaph's in 1789, and died in 1790.

The list of Ecclesiastical Judges and officials is still numerous. John Brookbank, Fellow, ὑδροπότης, Chancellor of Durham, who died in 1724, and James Johnson, Fellow, Chancellor of Ely, who died in 1728, have come before us already. Exton Sayer, Fellow, Chancellor of Durham, died 1731. John Andrew, Fellow, Judge of the Consistory Court of London, who died in 1747, has been commemorated in the College Library by the sketch of his scheme, happily abortive, for spoiling the Library and gardens. Sir Henry Penrice, Fellow, Judge of the Admiralty, died in 1752. George Paul, Fellow, Vicar-General of Canterbury, died 1755. George Reynolds, Archdeacon of Lincoln, died 1762.

* He is attributed to Christ's by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but this is a mistake. He was entered at the Hall in 1736, and as M.P. is described as of *Aul. Trin.*

Sir Thomas Salusbury, Fellow, Judge of the Admiralty, died 1773. Wharton Peck, Fellow, Chancellor of Ely, died 1777. Peter Calvert, Fellow, Dean of the Arches, died in 1788. Charles Pinfold, Fellow, advocate of the Admiralty in 1751, and Governor of Barbadoes, died 1788, and has left his memory on several silver tuns which he presented to the College, from which a generation who knew not livers and despised gout used to drink strong beer. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1792, shares with Lord Walsingham the honours of the Common Law among the Trinity Hall men who died in that century. Others who overlived 1800 had risen or were rising to eminence in the same branch of the profession, where Trinity Hall was to be able to boast of so many names in the future.

The Regius Professors of Civil Law were continuously Trinity Hall men. How far the general studies of the University, such as they were, were pursued at the College there is little means of judging. So far back as 1649, one of the first pair of Craven Scholars (for classics) had been A. Stanhope, Trinity Hall, and in 1701 W. Crow, Trinity Hall, was a Craven Scholar. At a long interval, in 1778, H. Bankes, Trinity Hall, was Senior Chancellor's Medallist for classics. He was afterwards a member of Parliament of rather more than common reputation. The one poetical name on the boards in the earlier eighteenth century is that of Elijah Fenton, and his connexion with the College is fortuitous. He was a B.A. of Jesus College. In 1726 he put his name down at Trinity Hall, having accompanied the son of a Sir William Trumbull to Cambridge as private tutor. His poetical genius was but moderate.

He helped Pope in his version of the *Odyssey*, doing the first, fourth, nineteenth and twentieth books. Dr. Johnson says that Fenton's work and that of Broome cannot be distinguished from that of Pope. It is scarcely true, even though Pope is below the level of his most polished work in this task of which he was tired.

We may trust that some credit is due to the College of Viscount Fitzwilliam for his cultivated interest and taste in art and archæology. He took his M.A. from Trinity Hall in 1764. He ultimately bequeathed to the University his great collection of pictures, prints, MSS., and *objets d'art*, together with the means for the proper housing of the bequest. The magnificence of the gift to the University is laudable; the opportunity lost of being a second founder to his College obvious. The Fitzwilliam Museum is the greatest single benefaction in either University since Colleges ceased to be established by pious founders. Viscount Fitzwilliam's gift to the University was under his will, in 1816. Benefactions to Colleges had become scarce before then. In the eighteenth century Marmaduke Fothergill founded an exhibition at Trinity Hall; James Johnson, Fellow, gave an estate at Oldhurst, Huntingdonshire, for augmenting a scholarship and improving the endowment of the vicarage of Hemingford Grey; William Allen, Fellow, gave his classical and French books, and founded two scholarships, with preference to boys from the town or county of Cambridge; besides there were the benefactions narrated of John Chetwode and Sir Nathanael Lloyd, whose gifts remain in evidence.

Little phases of social life are illustrated by docu-

ments relating to the College or men connected with it. The College had the patronage of the village school at Melbourn, Cambridgeshire. In 1739 Charles Benson petitioned for the post. He was a former officer of Excise, discharged, as he told the College, by the malice of the supervisor. He was capable of teaching Latin and Greek, and, as a practical proof of his abilities and virtues, appended moral sentiments in various styles of handwriting to his application. He further alleged that the petition of the inhabitants in favour of one Dodson, 'who can scarce read or write,' is dictated by consideration of the fact that Dodson has a large family, who will become chargeable to the parish unless their father is given the place. In spite of all deficiencies in popular education, it was then sometimes possible to learn the rudiments of Greek and Latin in a village school. The light on the working of the old Poor Law is still more instructive.*

A bill of 1788 shows how a student of Trinity Hall of those days lived, and what he paid, or did not pay, for groceries. An account, with no receipt attached, sent out by Mr. Woollard, the predecessor of what was Messrs. Woollard and Hattersley's, and now is Hattersley Brothers', in Trinity Street, to Mr. Forster, of Trinity Hall, was found in 1896, when some alterations were being made in the College. Mr. Forster had perhaps just gone into his rooms, for he bought, in October, a hearth-brush, a pail and a mop, and shortly afterwards a 'tea pott' and glasses. Apparently he kept a bird, for he bought fountains and seed continually, which shows a difference in manners from to-day. His most curious purchase, in modern eyes, is a 'Holland Gotch'

* Trinity Hall, Miscell. Papers, vol. v.

for 2s. 9d. This was a large earthen pitcher in which the gyp or bedmaker brought water from the College well or pump to the staircase—no water being laid on, of course, anywhere. Sand for blotting ink, shot for wiping quill pens, wafers, powder for the hair, a nutmeg-grater, garters, a mug for hall, sugar-candy—to put in his coffee ?—are among the things supplied to Mr. Forster, or to others, as shown in ledgers of near the same date. The prices, rather before 1788, are—tea from 9s. to 16s., and green tea 20s., per lb.; Turkey coffee from 9s. to 17s. 6d.; sugar, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 8d. Wax candles were a constant expense, but students also brought tallow candles and rushlights.*

Mr. Forster was probably a well-to-do young man by his orders. The poorer undergraduates lived very simply and cheaply. Scholarships of 5s. 3d. a week were a real help to them. Travelling to and from the University was a great expense, and down to the nineteenth century it was often the custom to obtain leave to stop up during the whole year, except the Long Vacation, to save the cost of journeying backwards and forwards.

In speaking generally of men and things in the eighteenth century, we have travelled beyond the Mastership of Sir Edward Simpson. He died, after a long and uneventful tenure, in 1764. James Marriott, LL.D., Fellow, was admitted Master on June 16, 1764, in succession to him. He was made Judge of the Admiralty, and knighted in 1778. It was in his time —1768—that the connexion was severed between Doctors' Commons and the College. Dr. Marriott had

* Mr. Hattersley has kindly given me the details of the prices of goods supplied.

been elected a Fellow in 1756. Gossip said that about the same time he had laid the foundation of his fortunes by arranging the library of the Duke of Newcastle, and by presenting him with poems* when, as Chancellor, the Duke visited Cambridge in 1755.

Sir James had the reputation of being facetious, even in the Admiralty Court, and what he intended for wit was differently regarded by others. Gray wrote of him to Mason in 1766: 'His follies should be pardoned, because he has some feeling and means so well.' In 1768 it has been said that he was a competitor against Gray for the History Professorship.† This is not literally true, for Gray writes that the former Professor died on Sunday by an accident, the place was offered to him on Wednesday, and he kissed hands on his appointment on Friday, and was never a candidate at all.‡ Sir James may have thought that he would have become the post, if he had had time to be a candidate between Mr. Brockett's breaking his neck by a fall from his horse and Gray being appointed three days later. He was M.P. for Sudbury from 1781 to 1784, and from 1796 to 1802.

He died at his seat near Sudbury.

To Sir James Marriott, as M.P., is attributed one of the silliest things ever said in the House—the remark that taxation without representation was not a real

* Marriott's poem to the Duke of Newcastle, equally feeble and fulsome—original poems in English—and translations from the French, Italian, and Latin, and Marriott's dissertation on the Civil and Canon Laws, delivered at the Commemoration under Eden's will, were published in Cambridge in 1760. They are in the College Library (R. V. 10). Some of Gray's animus against Marriott may be based on the latter having made feeble imitations of his great odes.

† *Dictionary of National Biography.*

‡ Gray to Wharton, August 3, 1763.

grievance of the American colonies, because, as the original charters of the colonies described them as 'part and parcel of the Manor of Greenwich,' they were represented by the knights of the shire for Kent!

During the earlier part of his Mastership the prominent figure in the College was Dr. Hallifax, the Tutor, whom we have mentioned above as Bishop of Gloucester and St. Asaph. Hallifax was a Jesus man who was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall in 1760. The Church, and the Universities of course, were agitated shortly after that time by what was called the Socinian movement among the clergy, and by the demand, put forward in 1771 in a numerously-signed petition, that students of the Universities not intended to take Orders should be freed from the need of subscription to the Articles. Hallifax warmly opposed the change, which was, however, well supported in Cambridge,* and preached against it before the University, and published his sermons. His attitude had something to do with his subsequent promotion, for George III. was very decidedly on the same side.

In the College Hallifax came into collision with a Unitarian undergraduate, Samuel Heywood, afterwards a well-known lawyer and Welsh Judge, who refused to come to Chapel in 1772, but had ultimately to give in to the authority of the Tutor, who was enforcing what were, after all, the well-known rules of the College where Heywood had chosen to enter.

Dr. Hallifax became, in 1768, Professor of Arabic and Lord Almoner's Professor, a complete sinecure, as no one wished to learn any Oriental language except Hebrew. Few wished to learn that, and if there had

* Lecky, *History of England*, iii. 497.

been intending students in other tongues, Dr. Hallifax knew none of them. A Persian MS. in the Library, there in Warren's time and there still, but which no one in Warren's time could read, represented the Oriental literature of the College.

Hallifax had taken up the study of Roman law since his migration to Trinity Hall, and became Regius Professor of Civil Law in 1770. He really 'got up' this subject, and wrote a handbook on it, and delivered lectures. About the same time the Master delivered some lectures on the Canon and Civil Law in the Chapel, which he published. If Mr. Heywood had then wished to stop away, it would not have been wonderful.

The Tutor and the Master were not always in complete agreement, for Dr. Marriott was not always happy in his relations with his College. In 1770, Dr. Ridlington, Fellow, died, and the Master assumed the right of fixing the time for a new election. Meanwhile, the Fellows, the Master being absent, proceeded to make an election at an earlier date fixed by themselves. They chose Dr. Gregory, who was admitted by Dr. Simpson, the Senior Fellow in residence. The Master considered the election irregular in the circumstances, complaining that he had not even been apprised of the date of election intended; and he applied to the Court of King's Bench for information in nature of a *Quo Warranto* against Dr. Gregory, requiring him to answer on what grounds he claimed the position of a Fellow. Gregory meanwhile was re-elected, after due notice given. The Master propounded the objection to his re-election, that the time appointed by the statutes in which the Fellows ought to have proceeded to a new election had expired, and

said that the former election was void because he had not himself received notice. On the trial of the case Lord Mansfield, C.J., decided in favour of the Fellows and Dr. Gregory. The Master resided very sparingly after this time. Dr. Marriott had no doubt another candidate in view.

But in so small a society as that of the then resident Fellows it was of great importance to secure an addition to the College who would be congenial to the rest of the body. Academical distinction, and ability displayed in the Admiralty Courts, would not compensate in the eyes of the College for their owner not being agreeable to a society which lived far more continuously in common than any College lives now.

Some feeling of this sort is clearly at the bottom of the action of the College in a more notorious case than that of Dr. Gregory. In 1787, Dr. Jowett, a clerical Fellow, Tutor of the College, looking out for some able colleague who might hereafter be associated with himself in the supervision of the undergraduates, fixed upon Mr. Wrangham, a promising student at Magdalene, whom he induced to migrate to Trinity Hall, where he was elected Scholar *de minori forma*. Wrangham was very successful in his examinations. Making all allowance for the absence of the keen and numerous competition of a later time, the man who in 1790 was Third Wrangler, Second Smith's Prizeman, and first Chancellor's Medallist, was a youth of brilliant abilities. He had taken the Browne's Medals for the Epigrams in 1787, and won the Seatonian in 1794, and three times subsequently.

His brilliance was perhaps accompanied by some of the waywardness of genius. Gunning, preserving the

gossip of his own day, says that he wrote epigrams on his patron, Dr. Jowett. He also professed opinions which were then considered dangerously liberal. In the early days of the French Revolution, many, perhaps most young men of genius, agreed with Fox, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, rather than with Burke. By 1793, however, the profession of liberal opinions alarmed the majority of educated men, certainly most Fellows of Colleges. Wrangham had also, perhaps indiscreetly, supported the cause of Mr. Frend, Fellow of Jesus, who in 1793 was expelled from the University for publishing a pamphlet which was said to be an attack on the Church.

In August, 1793, Mr. Wollaston vacated his Fellowship, after being appointed Jacksonian Professor, and Wrangham and a Mr. Vickers, Fellow of Queens', offered themselves as candidates for the vacancy, as was then the custom. Vickers was recommended by the influence of Dr. Milner, President of Queens', who headed the dominant Tory party and the powerful Evangelical connexion in the University. On November 1 Vickers was elected. On the next day it was discovered that he was disqualified under the statutes by holding a benefice of more than 6 marks' value. He resigned this and was re-elected Fellow on November 5. Wrangham thereupon petitioned the Lord Chancellor, as Visitor for the Crown, to set aside the election. He held that under the statutes a Scholar was to be preferred before others, if *idoneus moribus et ingenio*. Of his abilities there could be no question; and as the College had quite recently given him a testimonial for his ordination as a person of good character, he held that they could not object to him on that ground.

Moreover, he said that several Fellows were absent on the dates of both elections, and that some there on November 1 were absent on the 5th, and that no steps were taken to warn the absentees on the second occasion of the disqualification of Vickers, nor of the need of a second election. The Fellows asserted that nine of their body were present on the first occasion, and eight on the second.

Lord Loughborough tried the question. The whole seems to have turned on the interpretation of *idoneus moribus*. Lord Loughborough ruled that this must not be taken to mean only 'of common honesty,' or 'of decent moral character,' but that it must be construed more liberally, to include fitness and congruity in the eyes of the College for membership of their society. It would be intolerable, he said, if a small body had to elect an associate who was distasteful to them, compulsorily, if he could not be proved to be vicious. So Wrangham lost his case, and his friend Gunning is very indignant on his behalf. He puts down the first antagonism to Wrangham to the influence of Dr. Milner, President of Queens', a great power then in the University, who is no favourite of his, and to Tory intolerance of Wrangham's moderate Whig opinions. On the other hand, we must remember that what a friend calls in after-years moderate Whig opinions in a young man might seem very different to contemporaries in the year of the death of Louis XVI.; that we are really in the dark about the social qualities of a no doubt excellent man; and that Gunning writes from memory. His whole account is a little vitiated, for instance, by his assumption throughout that Sir William Wynne was Master when all this happened, whereas it

was really in the Mastership of Sir James Marriott. The mistake is not unimportant, for he attributes the result to Dr. Milner's and the Master's, Sir William Wynne's, Toryism.

Wrangham plunged into clerical and educational work, and literature, and became Archdeacon of the East Riding. He survived till 1842, and founded a prize at Trinity College. He is described in his later life as a well-looking, dignified ecclesiastic, with nothing revolutionary or unorthodox about him. In any case, we may allow that he had reason to feel aggrieved. Even if he was in any way socially objectionable to the Fellows, which we do not know, he could not be expected to see the force of that objection himself. The College was scarcely so rich then in academic ability as to part for no reason with so distinguished a member. He was a candidate for a clerical Fellowship, which would have given him the tutorship, and a Tutor of too strongly pronounced opinions, or of a difficult temper, might have emptied the College.

Gunning's hint that he wrote epigrams on Dr. Jowett may throw some light upon the Doctor's changing his opinion about Mr. Wrangham's suitability as a colleague. It is possible that one of these epigrams, if it may be so called, survives. In the corner between the east side of the principal court and the front of what was the Porter's Court, which latter stands back from the line of the other, is a little patch of ground, triangular, fenced in, bush-planted. In Loggan's view it is bare. Somewhere before the time of Wrangham's unsuccessful candidature, Dr. Jowett the Tutor, Regius Professor of Civil Law, had proceeded to treat this corner artistically, in the first instance planting it with

shrubs. Whereupon there were handed round the following lines:

'Little Dr. Jowett a little garden made,
And fenced that little garden with a little palisade;
Plants did he set in it, a very few,
And there a little, very little grew.
If you would know the little mind of Jowett,
This little garden doth a little show it.'

Whereupon Dr. Jowett ordered his shrubs to be pulled up, and had the corner gravelled. Then followed the continuation of the verses:

'But when this little garden had made a little talk,
Little Dr. Jowett made a little gravel walk.'

The lines are well known from Gunning's version of them, which is slightly different from the above, to the detriment of the metre.* The lines are attributed to Wrangham, with great probability. They are not so very clever as to have been remembered, when so much else has perished, solely for their wit. It is at least likely that at first they were connected in men's minds with a notorious controversy, and that Wrangham was known to have penned them at his own subsequent expense.

* The third and fourth lines are supplied by the Master of Trinity Hall, who got them from Mr. Swan Hurrell, whose family knew Jowett. The 'gravel walk' continuation was told to the writer by the late Henry Malden, who went up to Trinity in 1818, when the affair was well remembered. The Master adds, on the authority of Mr. Marsh, that the palisade was not the external fence, but a little wooden lattice fence round shrubs in the middle of the patch. The corner was made smaller by the new buildings of 1872-73. For the fifth line a different reading exists: 'A little taste has little Dr. Jowett.'

CHAPTER XI

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, AND SINCE

It was in the latter part of Sir James Marriott's Mastership that Benjamin Clarke Raworth, B.A., Trinity Hall, first compiled and published the Cambridge Calendar. It was published in 1796 and in 1797, did not appear in 1798, but from 1799 came out annually. In the last year of Marriott's Mastership, 1802, it gives the following view of the state of the College. The tutors were the Rev. John Vickers, M.A., the Queens' man who had supplanted Wrangham, and the Rev. Thomas Bourdillon, M.A., also a Queens' man, sixth Wrangler in 1794. These were the two Divinity Fellows. There were ten Lay Fellows—Sir W. Wynne and two others LL.D., six with the LL.B. degree, one Robinson of 'no degree.' We are told that in the case of a vacancy in the Divinity Fellowships 'preference is generally given to the most learned and respectable candidate of a different College.' The position of Mr. Robinson is perhaps explained by the note that 'This is the only College where Undergraduates can be elected and continue Fellows; but such election has rarely occurred.'*

* John Robinson, Fellow 1750 to 1805, was probably a Student of Civil Law who never proceeded to the LL.B.

Raworth himself and another were 'Bachelor Commoners' (B.A.'s in residence). There were nine undergraduate Fellow Commoners, eleven Scholars, fifteen Pensioners, and one Sizar. There were two prizes of three guineas each given to the best and second best English declamation.

There were seven College servants, and in the case of Trinity Hall, as of other Colleges in 1802, the names are some of them still familiar in Cambridge. Robert Barber was Butler; Richard Hopkins, Cook; James Toakley, Porter; Thomas Sharpe, Barber (he also held the appointment at Caius and Queens'); Thomas Chisholm and William Swann, Jips (so spelt); Mary Graves, Bedmaker. The Fellow Commoners probably had their own servants, who lodged in the town; it was a common practice. The Society at the High Table and in the Combination-Room must have chiefly consisted of Fellow Commoners, for several of the lay Fellows were non-resident, being practising advocates.

Sir James Marriott died in 1803, and on April 12 in that year the Right Hon. Sir William Wynne, LL.D., Fellow, was admitted as Master. He was the leading figure among the Fellows of Trinity Hall of the time, without doubt. In 1778 he had become King's Advocate and Vicar-General of Canterbury. In 1779 he was Judge of the Consistory Court of London. In 1788 he was Judge of the Prerogative Court and Dean of the Arches. On May 15, 1789, he was sworn a Member of the Privy Council, the first Master since Gardiner to be so distinguished. In 1790 he was a member of the Board of Trade till 1793. He had resigned the Vicar-Generalship and the Judgeship of the

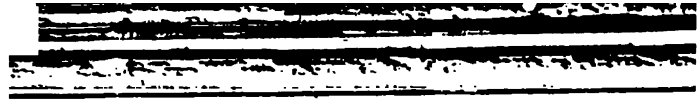
Consistory Court in 1788 on being raised to the Deanery of the Arches. He kept the latter post, and the Judgeship of the Prerogative Court during his Mastership, till 1809. He died in 1815. It is a matter for surprise that a Master so well known in the great world, eminent too in University politics as a high Tory, did not leave more mark on the history of the College. He made some alterations in the Lodge—at his own expense however, so that the details are not preserved in College accounts.

Sir William Wynne's death was shortly preceded or followed by those of three eminent Trinity Hall men, who were continuing the roll of honour in the Common Law, which Sir John Eardley Wilmot and Lord Walsingham had headed. These were Lord Hotham, a Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1814; Sir Nash Grose, sometime Fellow, Justice of the King's Bench, who died in the same year; and Sir Simon Le Blanc, sometime Fellow, made Justice of the King's Bench in 1799, who died in 1816. He had been elected a scholar in 1766, a Fellow in 1779. He was conspicuous for his independence, even on the English Bench, at a time when political trials were still known, and political bias might have been expected to influence some decisions.

Centuries end in neither the round hundreds nor in the preceding years, as some people imagined in 1899, but at irregular intervals. The nineteenth century, to our minds, is the period after the great war, up to the death of Queen Victoria. Before that period is ended history is becoming too modern for detailed treatment, and living memory must be relied upon and living prejudices and affections respected. Sir William Wynne died in the Waterloo year. On December 26,

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

WEST VIEW OF THE COLLEGE



1815, Thomas Le Blanc, LL.D., Fellow, was elected and admitted Master in his place. He was younger brother to Sir Simon Le Blanc.

Dr. Le Blanc's Mastership threatened to come to a sudden conclusion in 1818. There being no recently-elected head to take the office of Vice-Chancellor that year, Dr. Le Blanc, as the junior who had not served, was called upon to take it. Rather than do so, he resigned the Mastership. It was then found impossible by the Fellows to agree about a new Master, and after much entreaty Le Blanc consented to be re-elected. He escaped the Vice-Chancellorship for the year, but served in 1824, when he brought about the sale of the Botanical Garden land to the University. It belonged to Trinity Hall, and the ground now covered by Bateman Street was part of the price. The ground was let on a long lease, and the College, in fact, received only the surrender value of the lease. Le Blanc as Vice-Chancellor and Master ought to have postponed the sale. As Vice-Chancellor he made a poor bargain for the College.

His second Mastership was prolonged till 1843, covering the whole reigns of George IV. and William IV., and six years of that of her late Majesty. It included the Reform agitation, the period of the Six Acts and Tory rule which preceded it, the whole of the Whig administration which followed it, but it was not eventful in College or University life. The turmoil of the agitation for and against Catholic Emancipation perhaps stirred the University more deeply than Reform, but the legal was less affected than the clerical Colleges.

A smaller question agitated the College near the end

of his life. It was very unusual then to press any question in the audit to a division, but Cockburn, the late Lord Chief Justice, proposed on one occasion that the College should have claret after dinner at the toasts. The Master, a martyr to gout and a devotee of port—a natural connexion—declared this to be extravagant and un-English. Cockburn, of a Scotch family—Scotland was a claret-drinking country before England—persisted that on so vital a question he must take a division. He carried it, and the Master got up—he was very shaky with his gout—and toddled out of the room. The historian is compelled at this time to sometimes 'chronicle small beer,' or, in this case, claret.

It must, in fact, be admitted that the life of Trinity Hall was a little humdrum, not to say obscure, in the earlier part of the century. In the lists of the Mathematical Tripos—the only road to 'Honours' up to 1824—there are the names of only fifteen Trinity Hall men from the beginning of the century to the end of Dr. Le Blanc's Mastership. They include Geldart, seventeenth Wrangler in 1818, the future Master of the College. In the Classical Tripos, from its commencement in 1824 till 1843, there are only two Trinity Hall names. In the Civil Law Classes, which from 1815-16 were practically an Honours List, Trinity Hall men are far more numerous than men of any other College, and are top in nineteen out of the twenty-nine lists which came out up to the end of this Mastership. But this implies an existence a little separated and peculiar, apart from the rest of the intellectual life of the University. In one field of distinction, indeed, Trinity Hall men asserted themselves. The Chancellor's Medal for English verse had been founded in

1813. In 1817 Chauncey Hare Townshend, of Trinity Hall, gained it. He was not unknown in his own day as a poet, an echo of the Wordsworthian school sometimes, but at others reminding us more of Crabbe.

Townshend seems to have been the only Trinity Hall man who contributed to the short-lived and brilliant magazine, *Knight's Quarterly*, of which W. M. Praed was editor, and in which Macaulay wrote. He wrote under the name of Edmund Bruce. His earlier poems were published when he was an undergraduate, his later poems thirty years afterwards. In 1825 E. G. Lytton Bulwer, of Trinity Hall, was awarded the medal. Not as a great poet, but most assuredly as a very considerable novelist, the name of Bulwer Lytton, as he became, was known everywhere, and will probably be remembered. Another Trinity Hall poet, Hayley, who is pretty surely being forgotten, had died in 1820. He was at the college from 1763 to 1766, but took no degree. Hayley refused the Laureateship. He would not have been more incapable than some other holders of the office. Southey said of him: 'Everything about that man is good except his poetry.' One of his books is still saleable—*Ballads founded on Anecdotes of Animals*—not because he wrote it, but because it was illustrated by Blake.

But Bulwer Lytton was a considerable figure in English literature, and is about the only considerable author who, since Sheridan died, has produced a good acting play, *Money*. He migrated to Trinity Hall from Trinity College in October, 1823, and as a Fellow Commoner was excused lectures. He nevertheless took his B.A. in 1826. He supposed that he was a politician, and entered Parliament in 1831. After many tem-

porary alliances with Whigs, Radicals, and Tories, with none of whom he entirely agreed, he became Secretary for the Colonies to a Conservative Government in 1858-59. The erection of British Columbia and of Queensland into separate colonies took place during his time of office. In 1866 he became Lord Lytton. He died in 1873. His novels belong distinctly to the period of taste of the early nineteenth century. Yet his anonymous work *The Coming Race* connects him with the modern fashion of writing fairy-tales of scientific progress.

Four other Trinity Hall men, very different from Bulwer Lytton and from each other, but all notable, died in the first part of the nineteenth century or just beyond it. F. J. H. Wollaston, Senior Wrangler in 1763, then at Sidney, migrated to Trinity Hall, and was Jacksonian Professor from 1792 to 1813. He died in 1823.

Daniel Corrie, born 1777, entered at Clare in 1799, but migrated to Trinity Hall with an exhibition in 1800. He was ordained in 1802, and went to India as a chaplain in 1806. Here he was a friend of Henry Martyn, and laboured as a missionary with great zeal and some success, besides discharging his chaplain's duties. He was appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1823, and in 1835, when the See of Madras was erected, he was made the first Bishop. He died, however, in 1837, but not before he had made a distinct impression upon the Madras Presidency.

The next Trinity Hall man whom we need mention, among many of note in his particular career, was William Adams, born 1772, entered at Trinity Hall in 1788, and a Fellow. He was admitted an Advocate at

Doctors' Commons in 1799, and became very soon known as a learned and scientific Civilian. He was employed by the Crown on Admiralty business, and in 1814 was one of the three Commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace with the United States, with special charge of the most important part of the questions to be settled, those relating to maritime law. In 1815 he also negotiated a treaty of commerce with the same Government. His end was melancholy; his great abilities were employed upon the very unworthy task of investigating the guilt and follies of Queen Caroline, and he so overworked himself that he broke down and retired from practice in 1825. He nevertheless lived in retirement till 1851.

John Sterling, born in 1806, entered at Trinity College in 1824, but migrated to Trinity Hall with his friend Maurice in 1825. He went down in 1827, abandoning his original intention of taking a Law degree and of being called to the Bar. His tastes and his strength lay in literature, and in 1828 he was joint owner and chief writer in the *Athenæum*. But with undoubted powers of reason and imagination, always exciting the expectations of good judges, and sometimes in some fragmentary way fulfilling them, he somehow lacked the secret of great performance. He was never for long committed to a consistent line of opinions. He sympathized with Spanish patriots, and planned an expedition to dethrone King Ferdinand, but stayed behind to get married, and so escaped the catastrophe which overwhelmed his friends, from which Dr. Trench, the late Archbishop of Dublin, only just escaped in time. The rest were all shot by the Spaniards. In 1834 he was ordained, and for under two years acted as

curate to his friend Julius Hare at Hurstmonceaux. He relinquished active clerical life and returned to literature, but never formally repudiated Christianity. In the last few years of his life he was struggling with consumption, and he died in the Isle of Wight in 1844. He was singularly lovable, and inspired extreme affection and admiration among friends of great powers of their own. Julius Hare published his *Essays and Tales* in 1848, and Carlyle wrote his biography in 1851. He is a man of letters who will be remembered for the life which was written of him, much more than for what he wrote.

With Sterling we cannot but remember Frederick Denison Maurice. He went up to Trinity in 1823, and migrated with Sterling to Trinity Hall in 1825, intending to take a Law degree with a view to the profession of a barrister. He took a first-class in the Civil Law Classes of 1826-27, but he did not take the LL.B., being at the time deterred by the necessity of subscription as a *bona-fide* member of the Church of England. But the career of Maurice was in some respects the opposite to that of his friend. He took Orders, after obtaining a degree at Oxford, and though two extreme parties tried to make it an untenable position for him, he kept his place in the Church of England. The University provided him with the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in 1866, his College with the charge of St. Edward's in 1869. The life of Maurice is the history of opinions which cannot be here discussed. The bearing of his career on the history of the College is this, that with Sterling he turned to it as the one College in which clerical influence was not paramount, and his reliance upon its freedom from the worst prejudices of extreme

parties was justified in the end by its giving him the opportunity of speaking from a parochial pulpit.

But while these men were going forth from Trinity Hall the life of the College continued to flow pretty quietly and unobtrusively along.

In 1821 a step was taken towards increasing the number of the Fellowships. Mr. Horatio Goodbehere, formerly a Fellow Commoner of Trinity Hall, left property calculated to produce £100 a year for a Goodbehere Fellowship, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Ruth Murray. The bequest was accepted on January 6, 1821, with the following scheme: that the Fellow should be in Orders, should be resident and give his help to the Tutors in the management of the College; that he should have rooms, Fellow's commons, but no share in any further dividend from College property, no vote in elections, nor share in College business. He was to be, in fact, the paid chaplain for whom Warren had been desirous. The death of Mrs. Murray in 1849 caused the bequest to become available. By subsequent alterations of the statutes, however, the Goodbehere Fellowship became tenable with exactly the same privileges and duties as the rest.

Certain alterations in the buildings were made in Dr. Le Blanc's time. The Lodge was further improved. Up to the time of Sir William Wynne's alterations it had probably retained much of the character of the Elizabethan building, to which it had been converted by Dr. Harvey. The exact nature of Wynne's extensive changes, costing him about £1,500, has not been preserved, nor have those made by Dr. Le Blanc in 1822 been precisely recorded. Now, however, £1,800 was expended upon it. Between them they probably

did away with the greater part of the remains of the old home of the monks of Ely, though some traces were left of it up to a later date.

In front of the Master's Lodge, opposite the Porter's Lodge in the first court, and partly occupying ground previously covered by the south wing of the Lodge, a range of brick buildings containing six sets of rooms was built in 1823. It cost £1,200, and was no doubt useful in accommodating more men in College, but was and is as poor a piece of College building as is to be seen in Cambridge. When the main entrance was exactly opposite to it, the impression to one entering the College was exceedingly bad. The contrast of the very venerable and curiously irregular building through which the entrance at the Porter's Lodge lay gave it a still worse appearance to anyone entering from the other court. The removal of the Porter's Lodge to the other court in 1872 has relegated this eyesore to the background; but the good building by Waterhouse of 1872, which now stands opposite to it, condemns it when seen, to even a worse inferiority.

Dr. Le Blanc died in 1842, and Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, was elected Master on February 14, and admitted on February 18, 1843. He was by birth, education and position exactly what it behoved a Master of the College to be, when the old studies and the peculiar position of the College still continued. He was the last of the many Ecclesiastical Judges who have been Masters. Born in 1778, son of Robert Jenner, Proctor of Doctors' Commons, he had taken his LL.B. at Trinity Hall in 1798, his LL.D. in 1813. In 1828 he was made King's Advocate-General and knighted. In 1832 he was Vicar-General of Canterbury. He resigned both

these positions on becoming, in 1834, Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court. In the same year he was sworn a Member of the Privy Council. He had had sons at the College; one of them played in the first, another in the second of the cricket matches against Oxford. In 1842 he had changed his name to Jenner-Fust. As Dean of the Arches he filled a difficult and invidious position at the time of the beginnings of the Tractarian movement. Probably many of those who are unaware of his position as Master of a College remember him in connexion with the Gorham judgment, in the famous case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, even as many who remember the name of Mr. Gorham in connexion with the question of baptismal regeneration, and with the secession of Manning from the Church of England, know nothing of that gentleman in his real claim to distinction as an eminent antiquary. The case went on from 1847 to 1850, and Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust's decree in favour of Mr. Gorham was issued in 1849. Since Gardiner's time no Master, or member, of Trinity Hall had made such a stir in the Church of England, nor since Dr. Cowell's Interpreter was condemned had any Master made so much of a stir in the world generally.

The Master was, without doubt, a very learned Ecclesiastical Judge, and he was well known to the statesmen of his own day as a great authority on questions of international law. The old connexion of the Civilians with diplomacy was not yet quite passed away. It was in this Mastership, December 27, 1849, that two Law studentships were established, to be tenable for three years, without residence after a degree,

by students intending to follow the profession of the Law, of any kind. The number has since been increased to three. The Master never resided for any length of time in the Lodge. He died on February 20, 1852. During the last few years of his life he had been very infirm. On the very night of the day on which he died a misfortune occurred which a more superstitious age would have linked with the passing of a considerable life. A fire broke out in rooms in the east side of the principal court. The fire-extinguishing apparatus of those days was rudimentary. The hand-worked engines threw feeble streams of water, and were supplemented by rows of undergraduates from Trinity Hall and the neighbouring colleges, standing in lines down Garret Hostel Lane to the river, and passing slop-pails from hand to hand, which were all spilt before they got to the fire. The fact that this range was really a separate building, not exactly continuous with the southern side of the court, and divided from the north side by the solid wall of the old house Draxes-entre, which Bateman had taken over as it stood, and incorporated into his *Aula*, probably prevented worse mischief. The side of the court was so much injured, however, that it had to be almost completely rebuilt. The plans were prepared by A. Salvin. It was raised to one storey higher than had been there, but the lower wall, windows, and cornice towards the court were retained, along with the entrance archway. The College arms were removed to a pediment built for their reception on the opposite side of the court.

The same architect, A. Salvin, was employed by the next Master, Dr. Geldart, to completely recast the arrangements of the Lodge, whereby it is said to have

been greatly improved as a house. Almost the last remains of the monks of Ely's habitation disappeared in the process. The Elizabethan gallery was finally broken up by partitions.

Thomas Charles Geldart, M.A., Trinity Hall, seventeenth Wrangler in 1818, formerly Fellow, was elected on March 9, and admitted on March 10, 1852, as Master in place of Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust. He subsequently became LL.D., 1853. Sir Alexander Cockburn, Attorney-General to the Government which had just resigned, was a candidate against him. With Dr. Geldart's Mastership the history of the College in living memory does not begin, indeed, for we can still call upon living memories of Dr. Le Blanc's time; but with it living memory becomes more common, and the present age of the College may be said to have begun. For some years before the end of Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust's Mastership the College had undoubtedly diminished in the numbers of its undergraduates and in consideration. New blood was needed and new interests. The means of recovery were found in the encouragement of studies outside the old faculty, under the direction of new and able men. These improvements bore fruit in the Mastership of Dr. Geldart.

The Assistant Tutor from 1845 to 1847 had been Henry J. Sumner Maine,* Senior Classic and Chancellor's Medallist of 1844, for whom his own College, Pembroke, had no Fellowship vacant. He had no Fellowship at Trinity Hall either, for no Lay Fellowship was vacant, and he was uncertain about taking Orders. He had, however, undertaken the Tutorship when the College had sunk to its lowest point of numbers, and had begun

* Sir H. J. S. Maine, K.C.S.I., etc., Master, 1877-1888.

that work of restoration which was to be so successfully carried on. In 1847 the Professorship of Civil Law had fallen vacant, and Maine, succeeding to that, continued to preside over the old studies of the College and to infuse new life into them. In the same year in which Maine became Professor a yet more momentous appointment was made. In the records of Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust's Mastership the entry appears in the Order Book: 'Dec. 29th, 1847, Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust, Master, appoints Henry Latham,* M.A., Trinity College, *iure devolutionis*, to the Presbyter Fellowship vacant by the resignation of the Rev. J. Power, M.A., and appoints Mr. Latham to the office of Tutor of the College.' With this we feel that we are in the midst of very modern history.

* The Rev. H. Latham, Master, 1888.

CHAPTER XII

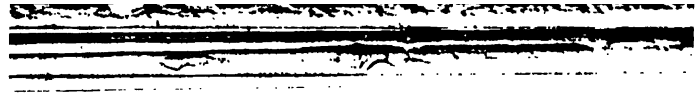
THE LAST DAYS OF THE OLD CIVIL LAW FACULTY

Mr. Latham succeeded Mr. Power in the Tutorship. Mr. Power, a popular but perhaps easy-going Tutor, had hoped to succeed to the Mastership in 1843, but the feeling against a clerical Master was too strong. He held on for a few years, and then being offered a Fellowship in his original College, Clare, he accepted it. Mr. Marsh was the other Tutor. They had no easy task as reformers. The numbers of the College, if not at the smallest, were very small. In the Calendar of 1847 it appears that eleven Fellowships were filled, and there were eleven Scholars; among them was Mr. Stanley Walton, 'scholar and chapel clerk,' who will be well remembered by our generation as a 'coach' at his vicarage of Fen Stanton; there were seven Fellow Commoners and twenty-one Pensioners. Nearly all of these thirty-nine undergraduates who took degrees at all proceeded in Law. One step in the changes which were about to follow was the encouragement of a greater number to proceed in Arts. Yet while the old and peculiar position of the Hall, as the College devoted to the study of the Civil Law, was still maintained, it is interesting to look at the course of those studies, and at

the process which crowned them, so different from anything of which the present generation has any experience. In the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries the lectures of the Regius Professor had been delivered in the Trinity Hall Combination-Room, a place which implies not a crowded attendance. A century ago the hours of the lecture were from ten to eleven in the morning on certain days between the division of the Michaelmas and the division of the Midsummer terms. There was some audience, because a *Senatus Consultum*, which we call now a Grace of the Senate, had in 1768 laid it down that no man would be admitted to the degree of LL.B. without a certificate of attendance at the Professor's lectures in three terms. There was a five-guinea fee for the first course, which went on for a year, nominal. These fees supplemented the modest £40 with which the Professorship had been endowed by the King when it was founded. Attendance at subsequent courses was *gratis*, and was not compulsory. So we may suppose that as a rule the room was filled up by the men intent chiefly on getting their certificates. But there actually were lectures continually—from 1768, at all events. As a hundred years ago, and both before and after that date for a while, no lectures were being delivered by the Regius and Lady Margaret Professors of Divinity, nor by the Regius Professors of Greek, Physic, and Hebrew, nor by the Professors of Casuistry, Arabic, Mineralogy, and Music, Dr. Jowett and Dr. Geldart, the two immediate predecessors of Professor Maine, were honourably distinguished as working members of the staff of the University. Yet it seems that Dr. Jowett's lectures followed a plan laid down by his predecessor, even if they were not identical with the printed lectures of

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

REV. H. LATHAM, MASTER



Dr. Hallifax, entitled 'An Analysis of the Roman Civil Law.' Dr. Geldart republished this, with alterations and additions, in 1836. This was Dr. J. W. Geldart, LL.B., Trinity Hall, 1806, who became Professor in 1813, LL.D. 1814. He had introduced an improved state of things in the study of Law. His lectures were in the Law Schools, not in the comfortable seclusion of the Trinity Hall Combination-Room. It was he who began the published Civil Law Classes in 1815-16, publishing first two, then three classes. The whole system of these examinations was entirely controlled by the Regius Professor. No degree was conferred because of a place obtained in them, but the Professor could practically compel men to go in for them, as he was supreme in the Faculty. By Dr. Geldart's regulations, candidates for a First Class had to take examinations in two subjects in the May term of their second year. Candidates who failed might be re-examined, but none who were re-examined could in any case get a First Class. The examinations were continued in the third year, and the list, with the double date of two years, represents the result of the examinations from the beginning of the May term in one year till the end of the May term in the year following. The first two classes were, in fact, composed of Law Honour men; the third class, usually in alphabetical order, represented Poll men. But some were not classed at all. The examinations included Logic, a necessary preparation for those who had to keep the Act for their LL.B., a mystery expounded below.

At the end of nine terms the Professor published the results of his examinations—latterly, that is, after written examinations had been introduced—and the

successful candidates were entitled to call themselves S.C.L., or Students of Civil Law.

The Civil Law Classes continued to be issued till 1856-57. By an Act of 20-21 Victoria the Civil Law was disestablished in the Courts, the practice of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Courts being assimilated to that of the Common Law Courts. The change was accompanied by a revolution in the Law Faculty at Cambridge. In 1858 the first Law Tripos list was issued. Not only had the proceedings in Civil Law been a peculiar province, entirely under the management of the Professor, a Trinity Hall man by the prescription of about two hundred years, but the form of proceeding to a degree in Law had retained the old shape and ceremonies, the remains of the public disputations of the Middle Ages, up to a time when such performances had quite passed away from the proceedings in Arts.

Bishops accepted the S.C.L. as equivalent to a degree before ordination, so that some men intending to take Orders never went any further. At the end of five years an S.C.L. who resided was made what was called an 'LL.B. in College,' paying a fee of 25s. as a *solatium* to the cook in place of a dinner which he used to have to give.* He then had the privileges of an M.A. in the College, dining at the High Table. But by those who intended to proceed to the LL.B. degree the Act had to be kept in their twelfth term. It was not, however, till after six years from matriculation that the degree was

* One reform of Mr. Latham's and Mr. Marsh's was to substitute regular pay for the old fees of the College servants. It was rendered less expensive by the fact that, the income-tax having been lately introduced, all the servants had declared their incomes to be within the exempted amount.

actually conferred. The Bachelor of Laws was superior to the Bachelor of Arts, and was not *in statu pupillari*; he was not, however, a member of the Senate. That he only became when he took his LL.D. later, if he ventured to proceed so far. To reach this highest honour of the Law Faculty, an Act was required with much ceremony, and the form survived till 1858. The candidate for the degree propounded his thesis. An objection was duly made, by a man of straw, and duly demolished. A book was presented to the candidate, first shut, and then open; a ring was put upon his finger, and whispers passed between the commencing Doctor and the Professor, which was called 'the solving of a question in the ear of the Professor.' Finally came the 'accolade of honour,' when the Professor kissed the candidate.

The Master of Trinity Hall relates how he used to lend the Professor a ring for the occasion, which he put upon the finger of the commencing Doctor, bidding him, in Latin, to 'wear it for ever in token of the love which the University bears you.' But in the subsequent whispering he is supposed to have said, 'You must give that ring back when you get outside the door, for it is the only one we have got.' The present Master's ring became a regular stage property in the performance, and was at last kept in the Porter's Lodge at Trinity Hall in readiness for the Professor when he left the College to go to the Law School for the Act. The Master witnessed precisely the same ceremony at Bonn in 1868, at the creation of a Doctor there, including the giving of the ring and the whispering.

The more ordinary performance, however, was the Act preparatory to the LL.B., and no description of

Trinity Hall life before the middle of the nineteenth century would be complete without it. I am fortunately able by the kindness of the Master to give his account of how he used to see it done, up to the time when, in 1857, six Trinity Hall men, all in the first class of the last Civil Law Classes, duly kept their Acts:

'An interest in the study of the Civil Law was preserved in Trinity Hall, and I might say almost there only in the University, and there was even when the old state of things was passing away a great attachment to the old faculty among members of Doctors' Commons and former Fellows of the College. I recollect, at a gathering in the College Hall, mention being made in a speech of the high compliment received that day by the son of an old friend of the speaker. It was this: "Et tu quidem Domine omnibus argumentis recte et acute respondisti." The announcement was heartily received. The ceremonial connected with the keeping of an Act began in the College Hall, and this was made more prominent in Trinity Hall than at any other College in the University. It may be well to note an ambiguity in the use of the words "the Act." The word properly means the disputation held with the Professor in the Law Schools, but it is also used in the old books which describe the ceremony for the student who holds the disputation. Thus it is said: "The Act is to wear a full-sleeved Law gown with a hood like that of a B.A."

'I will now pass to a description of what took place on the afternoon of a day in the Easter Term at Trinity Hall, on which it had been arranged that a member of the College was to go through what was for him the crowning ordeal of his University career. It may be well to explain that I was the official called the

Prælector, or Father of the College, whose duty it was to accompany my pupil to the Law Schools and see him through his troubles.

'At a quarter before two on the day fixed the College bell of Trinity Hall sent forth its not very powerful peal. Presently a clatter would be heard from the old wooden staircases, and undergraduates, two or three from each, would dribble into the court and form a group in the middle. Then I would hear a shout of welcome, and I would know that the hero of the day had appeared. We will suppose that he was a Fellow Commoner, in which case a very gorgeous academic object he would be. He would have a grand silk gown with sleeves like balloons, the whole so stiff and stout that the wearer might almost walk out of it and leave it standing, a hood edged with white fur, and a new and magnificent velvet cap, which during the march to the Law Schools he was to carry in his hand.

'This display provoked less banter than might have been supposed, for a certain reverence for ancient ceremonial hung over the spectators, and an undergraduate is a kindly creature, and regards "the Act" in all his splendour with some tenderness, as one over whom a terrible trial hung. Someone might say, "Well, you have emerged into the perfect insect, you have," but the occasion was thought too serious for laughter.

'I, as Prælector in charge of the performance, led the party into the College Dining-hall, where a refection of wine, cakes, and fruit was set out on one of the tables. This "trifling jovial banquet" was not peculiar to Trinity Hall; at Trinity College sack, such as Falstaff drank, was reserved for such occasions, and, though some doubted the advisability of the article,

it was required by the undergraduates as a necessary part of the repast. The Act, who was host on this occasion, tried to dissipate his nervousness by pressing everybody to take cake and wine. Madeira was the correct liquor of the day at Trinity Hall, and a glass or two might be taken. The occasion was sufficient to draw twenty or thirty undergraduates into the court and into the Hall, including the special friends of the chief performer.

'As two o'clock approached people began to be nervous because the Esquire Bedell had not come; for if he did not appear in time for the Act to begin his performance in the Law Schools before two o'clock the whole thing fell through. It is worth while to explain how this came to be. It seems that in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the old statutes of the University had been reformed, people had wanted to make the most of their ceremonials, and had delighted in listening to disputations, so that when they got hold of a man who was to take a degree, they made him serve as a spectacle for the whole afternoon. His disputation was to last "per trium horarum spatium." Later on, as more persons took degrees, this consumption of time was grudged, and the authorities who were empowered to interpret the statutes declared that it would serve if the discussion in the Law Schools extended into parts of three hours. That is to say, it would do if proceedings began before two o'clock and lasted until after the clock had struck three.* This consideration about time had much to do in shaping the form of

* One hundred years ago the proceedings began similarly at five minutes to three, and extended till after four. No doubt then they were timed to begin after dinner, and 'the banquet' was a relic of dessert.

proceedings, so that when it was five minutes to two I used to get a little nervous. I never knew an Act absolutely fail through the Esquire Bedell not coming in time, but he was a man who drove things to the last moment, and the hurry caused by this detracted sometimes from the dignity of the proceedings.

'We will suppose that on the occasion which I am figuring the Esquire Bedell, with his silver mace, came into the Hall, as usual, a good deal out of breath. He was a Doctor of Laws, and wore on this occasion his scarlet gown. The Act at once accosted him, "Dr.——, a glass of wine?" "Wine!" the Bedell would answer, in a tone of agony, "there is no time for wine or anything else; we have only just time to get into the Schools, and if the clock strikes two it is all over for the day." So we formed our procession with all haste, and hurried from the College Hall up Senate House Passage, into the Law School, which is underneath the University Library. Our procession was arranged as follows: First came the Esquire Bedell in his red Doctor's robes, then the Act arrayed as described, carrying in one hand his cap, in the other what looked like a sermon-book, which contained his thesis. I came next after him in my gown and Master's hood, then the special friends and supporters of the Act, one carrying the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the book of supreme authority in the Roman Law, and another the *Digest*, or whatever else was likely to be wanted in the debate. So we got into the Schools. There we found the Regius Professor in his red gown and silk hood sitting in a sort of pulpit, below which was a sort of reading-desk, in which I took my seat as Prælector of the College. Opposite to us was a railed space, with another reading-desk, where

the Act took his stand and placed his thesis before him. I then stood up and said: "Agas Domine respondens." This was my only part in the matter, but I was the official witness to the College that the Act had been kept. With my words the proceedings commenced. St. Mary's clock might now strike two as soon as it pleased.

'There would be two subjects of debate, which the Act maintained against the objections of the Professor. These we will suppose to have been, "Ex nudo pacto non oritur actio" and "Volenti non fit injuria." The Act began by reading his Latin dissertation, called his thesis, which was a comment on these maxims. Many of the undergraduates now disappeared for a time. Only the very dearest friends of the Act would stay to hear his dissertation. The rest would come back in twenty minutes, which was the time allowed for it, when the argument with the Professor, which was more lively, would have begun. Meanwhile the Professor, who had previously looked through and accepted the thesis, took a book out of his pocket and began to read, and I followed his example. A newspaper was considered not quite proper on the occasion; besides, it rustled.

'When the thesis was finished, the Professor stood up in his pulpit and said, "Quæstiones sunt, Ex nudo pacto non oritur actio; et Volenti non fit injuria. Contra priorem sic disputo." He then made an objection in syllogistic form to the first of the questions. For instance, he would assert, an action did lie in a particular case of agreement in which the contractor received no consideration—that is to say, when his "Pact" was "Nude." "Ergo cadit quæstio." To this the Act commonly replied, "Nego consequentiam." "Negas con-

sequentiam Domine?" the Professor would answer in an interrogative tone. "Etiam," said the Act. Then the Professor would construct a new syllogism establishing his contention, and end with "Ergo non stat argumentum." Again the Act would reply, "Nego consequentiam," or once in a hundred times, "Nego minorem"—if he knew enough of logic, of Latin, and of law to detect such a fallacy. As the argument went on the syllogistic form was by degrees dropped. The Professor appealed to texts in the books of authority which the friends of the Act had brought and set round him. The Professor named in Latin the book and the chapter and title of the law he wanted, and a weak candidate sometimes bungled a good deal in finding it. If he got hold of a wrong one, the Professor would say, "Non autem recte Domine." It was a piece of policy with a student who knew that he was weak to spend as much time as he could over finding the places, because the disputation, as he knew, would only last till three o'clock, and he was less likely to get into serious trouble by stumbling over his texts than by arguing with the Professor. After a while the Professor said, "Ad secundam quæstionem nunc pergo," and a similar process took place with respect to the second maxim. When three o'clock was drawing near the Professor began his determination. This was an exposition in Latin of the fallacy of his own arguments. It was in these "determinations" that the Professors in old time showed their skill. It was these that in the case of renowned teachers students thronged to hear. At last St. Mary's old clock gave a peculiar sound known to be premonitory of striking the hour, and the arguments of the Professor grew more pointed and terse, until they finally demolished the structure

which he had pretended to raise. Now came the crowning point of interest, which was to hear what the Professor would say to the candidate about his performance. This the undergraduates who had loitered outside all came in to hear. Having ended his determination as the clock struck, the Professor would say, "Sed satis disputatium Domine, et tu quidem tuo officio optime functus es," or "bene," or "multa cum laude," if he wished to pay a special compliment. If the candidate had only just done fairly, the words would be "non sine laude." If he were very unsatisfactory, the Professor would say, "Satis disputatium," and nothing more, which was considered rather a blow. If he were so bad that the Act could not be allowed to reckon at all, the Professor uttered the terrible words, "Descendas Domine," and left the Schools. But I never saw this occur.* At Trinity Hall when I first knew the College, on the days when an Act had been kept, a simple dessert was provided for the students' dinner in Hall at the expense of the Act. When the numbers of the College increased this festivity was given up.'

At an earlier period the fees payable for the LL.B. and LL.D. degrees were formidable. The former cost Warren, the College historian, £34, the latter £44, but £6 was given back to him by the Professor. But some of his LL.B. payments are interesting memorials of the system of fees on which College servants lived. They include 'Cook's fee for degree 5s., Butler's fee for degree

* But a legend is told of one, not a Trinity Hall man, who was quite unable to grapple with the Professor's Latin, and on whom the sentence was pronounced. He was, however, so ignorant of Latin that he did not know what it meant, and remained standing at his desk till the Professor had gone away. Then, realizing the situation, he fled, and took the next coach to London.

5s., Butler's fee for my going to the High Table 2s. 6d., Porter's fee for degree 1s., Porter's fee for my going to the High Table 2s. 6d., Blue Coat, the Vice Chancellor's man, for carrying a Body of Law to the Schools, 1s., two bottles of wine for the Fellows 3s. 4d., wine and biscuits before the Act 11s. 8d.'

CHAPTER XIII

RECENT CHANGES AND MEN

THE changes of the last fifty years, great everywhere in the University, were probably nowhere greater than in Trinity Hall. Not only was the College advancing in numbers—those numbers recruited from strange quarters to our forerunners, from the colonies and the United States among other places—not only were the organized pursuits and sports of the undergraduates no longer a subject of indifference, or even of dislike, to those in authority, not only were manners and customs beginning to be slightly softened, and luxurious living introduced with which our rude ancestors were unfamiliar—these changes were common to other Colleges and to both Universities. But at Trinity Hall the course of study was in fact profoundly modified by the practical abolition of the special profession which the College had been founded to promote and to recruit by its members. In the world the Civilian was merged in the barrister. In Cambridge the English Law shared the new Law Tripos with the Roman Law. The studies in Law which were still pursued were regulated after the same fashion as the studies of the University in other subjects. Nor did men any longer read Law so exclusively; but the

Mathematical and Classical Triposes showed more Trinity Hall names in their lists. A vote of the Fellows had determined that men were no longer to be elected to Fellowships on the strength of a degree in Law alone—a radical alteration. The Founder's statutes, under which the College had been governed continuously, but for a brief interval, perhaps, under Edward VI., were superseded by the new statutes of 1860, and these statutes were superseded in turn by those of 1882, under which the College is now governed. The Fellows were still mainly laymen; but not only so, married laymen could be Fellows. Only in respect to lay Fellowships had the rest of the University approximated to Trinity Hall. In other respects Trinity Hall had approximated to the rest of Cambridge, or gone beyond it in changes. With Caius it shared the singularity of having a layman as Master.

Up to the years 1856 and 1860 the studies, the method of obtaining a degree and the future career of many Trinity Hall men, and the statutes of the College, had made the Hall more mediæval than most Cambridge Colleges. Since then the changes narrated, with the already existing absence of the ecclesiastical element, have made it more modern than most Colleges.

The living names of the College are not yet fit subjects for history, but it is pertinent to mention that Mr. Leslie Stephen, as Assistant Tutor, helped to direct the changes in the College. He had been elected a Fellow in 1854. His father, Sir James Stephen, LL.B. Trinity Hall, 1812, was then Professor of Modern History, from 1849 to 1860.

In 1863 the seal was set upon the new position of the College in the general studies of the University, when

the present Lord Justice Romer, then Scholar of Trinity Hall, was Senior Wrangler.

The modifications and improvements of buildings have to be recorded. The Chapel was too small for the increasing numbers, and in 1864 it was extended eastward by pulling down the wall which separated it from the old Treasury.* As rooms on the upper floor over the intended extension could not be interfered with conveniently, this enlargement could only be carried up for part of the height of the Chapel, making the present curious projection over the east end. It was then that the *piscina* in the south wall was discovered behind the wainscot, and preserved. Another niche was found in the east wall, but was unfortunately destroyed and no drawings of it kept. Three pieces of clunch, carved, gilt and painted, which may have been portions of a reredos, were found built into the wall above the roof, where some repairs were executed at the same time. The sash-window looking into the Chapel from the Master's Lodge, at the west end, was taken away at the same time.† These alterations were all carried out under the direction of Mr. Latham, the Tutor, no architect being employed.

The Chapel was further decorated in 1876, at the expense of Mrs. Geldart, the Master's wife. Stained glass was put into the windows, the walls were ornamented with gilding and colour, and a fresco of the Baptism of Our Lord executed upon the west wall where the sash window had been. By these successive changes the

* Then used as a wine-cellar.

† Behind this window the Master's family had sat during service from the time of Dr. Lloyd to that of Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust. It was blocked up in his time; removed in 1864.

Chapel recovered something like an ecclesiastical appearance; but it is still too small for the College, and there is no further room for enlargement on the present site.

In 1872 it was found that the very old buildings about the Porter's Lodge, on the east side of the Porter's or smaller court, were in hopeless decay. Space was wasted by their lack of arrangement, and, with the exception of one set, the rooms in them were not good. They were completely pulled down, and the present buildings put up by A. Waterhouse as architect. The alterations involved the stopping up of a very steep staircase which ran up from the larger court, close to the passage between the two courts. The mark of its entrance is still clearly seen in the wall. The rooms over the archway, which had long ago been the old Library, were approached, among others, by this staircase.

At the old entrance the main archway had been long built up and plastered over so as to be scarcely visible. The old postern-gate was used as an entrance. When the old building was demolished, Mr. Latham caused this archway and the postern to be carefully removed and built up again at the entrance to the garden from Garret Hostel Lane, where they now stand. Though a possible entrance from the street was kept under Waterhouse's new building, the Porter's Lodge was at this time transferred to its present place, under the archway leading through Salvin's buildings into the larger court. It is an improvement, partly because a person entering the College is not immediately confronted by the lodging-house style of architecture of the 1823 building, partly because this was the natural entrance of the College for persons going to the kitchens or butteries, and for those who wanted to come for good or bad pur-

poses to undergraduates' rooms, and it was well that they should pass the porter.

In 1877 Dr. Geldart died, leaving most kindly memories behind. He was one of the last examples of the old-fashioned Master of a College, in whom the old-fashioned courtesy of an old-fashioned country gentleman, the frankness of a sportsman, and the education of a scholar were agreeably blended. He was emphatically in the right place, presiding over a society of gentlemen. No one would have deemed him a very learned man, still less could anyone think of him as a pedant or prig, nor in the objectionable sense a Don. It is said that when he died Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice, would have been willing to take his place, as he had been willing when Dr. Geldart was elected. The actual candidates at first were Mr. Latham the Tutor, and the late Professor Fawcett. Both retired in favour of Sir Henry Maine, LL.D., K.C.S.I., who was elected on December 27, and admitted on December 28, 1877.

Henry J. Sumner Maine was born in 1822. He was at Christ's Hospital. He entered at Pembroke in 1840, and in 1844 took his degree as a Senior Optime, was Senior Classic, and obtained the first Chancellor's Medal. In 1843 he had been Craven Scholar. In 1842 he had taken Sir William Browne's Medal for the Latin Ode, in 1843 those for the Latin Ode and both Greek and Latin Epigrams. In 1842 he got the Chancellor's English Medal and the Camden Medal for Latin Hexameters. Something was amiss in the state of things which found no vacancy for him as a Fellow of his College. In 1845 he became, as we have seen, Assistant Tutor of Trinity Hall, with no Fellowship, for no lay Fellowship was vacant, and he was not in Orders.

The income of a Fellowship was, however, voted to him annually. From 1847 to 1854 he was Regius Professor of Civil Law, turning easily to the teaching of a branch of learning with which he had of course no more original acquaintance than what would come naturally to a master of the literature and history of Rome. He was called to the Bar in 1850. Want of health, and an absence of the aggressive energy which sometimes makes a way at the Bar for men of far inferior gifts to his, would probably have always stood in his way as a practising barrister. But his ability and learning were recognised, and when the Inns of Court were first beginning to establish law teaching he was appointed Reader in Roman Law and Jurisprudence in 1852. In 1861 appeared his book on *Ancient Law*. The recent work of Darwin and of Wallace may be said to have caused evolution to be in the air. A book which showed the working of the same process in the history of custom, law, and institutions challenged immediate attention. From 1862 to 1869 he was Legal Member of Council in India. The fruit of his previous and of his continued studies, combined with his Indian experience and information, was *Village Communities*, published in 1871. Detractors were of course found, some of whom suggested that all that was worth saying in his two books had been said before by K. Maurer and Nasse in German. I have heard a seasonable rebuke to such talk from a learned man: 'If the substance of Maine's books is to be found in German, I never knew before how valuable K. Maurer and Nasse were.' In fact, in the case of Indian examples Maine had information which was not then possessed by any German, and his great learning and his lumi-

nous exposition of his subject placed him at once in the first rank of the historians of law in any language. As must be the case in any newly-explored field of knowledge and theory, the views and conclusions of these books have been questioned and modified by subsequent workers. Perhaps nearly all that he wrote wants a little of that completeness of illustration and reference which means so much labour, and which is so hard to all but the most robust health. But his writings can never lose their value, and must always retain an interest as pioneer works in England on this subject. If others go farther, Maine opened the path. Immediately upon his return from India he had become, in 1869, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. In 1871 he was made a member of the Secretary of State's Indian Council and K.C.S.I. *Village Communities* had been the completed form of his first lectures at Oxford. *The Early History of Institutions*, published in 1875, embodied more lectures. After he became Master of Trinity Hall he published *Dissertations on Early Law and Customs* in 1883, and *Popular Government* in 1885. In 1887 he became Whewell Professor of International Law in Cambridge. Master of a College, and filling three Professorships in the two Universities, he was never a Fellow of any College. For forty-three years he was in some sense a Trinity Hall man. At Trinity Hall he had entered upon the course of study by which he became renowned, and the College, which had of old sent forth students of the international law of their times, diplomatists, judges, and administrators, was fitly represented by one who in some sort laboured in or illustrated all these various functions.

Sir Henry Maine died at Cannes early in the year 1888. The Rev. Henry Latham was elected and admitted Master in his room on February 18, 1888. There could be no doubt about his succession. As it fell out, the two men who had been named or thought of as possible Masters of the College in 1852 and 1877 had both died, one in the course of nature some years before, the other in the midst of apparently vigorous manhood.

Sir Alexander Cockburn was second to none of the strong masculine intellects which had come forth at any time from the College. He was born of an old Scotch family in 1802. His father had done diplomatic service, and was British Envoy in South America during the time when the Spanish-American colonies were achieving the anarchy which they call independence. His mother was a foreigner, and from her and from residence on the Continent of Europe in his youth he became unusually versed for a Briton in French, German, Spanish, and Italian. He entered at Trinity Hall in 1822. In 1824-25 he was second in the First Class of the Civil Law Classes.* He had carried off College prizes for both English and Latin essays. He became a Fellow Commoner in 1825, and was elected a Fellow and called to the Bar in 1829. His distinction began with the trial of election petitions after the Reform Bill of 1832. The experience which he had gained of the corruption of boroughs made him a valuable member of the Commission appointed to investigate the state of the boroughs with a view to the Municipal Reform Act. He became Q.C. in 1841.

* J. H. Bayford, Trinity Hall, who won the first Wingfield sculls rowed for on the Thames in 1830, was above him.

In 1844 he was counsel for the owners of Running Rein in the great turf scandal caused by Running Rein having won the Derby as a four-year-old undoubtedly. He came into rather violent collision with Lord George Bentinck, who was working in the cause of honesty, and the fact that Cockburn was a Whig, and Lord George a Tory, perhaps made the passage of arms sharper. But in the case itself Cockburn, of course, was merely discharging his duty as an advocate. In 1847 he was elected for Southampton. In 1850 he made his mark in the House, defending Lord Palmerston's action against Greece in the Don Pacifico case, showing, with a mastery of foreign and international law and customs which few could challenge, that Don Pacifico, as a British subject, had no redress except in reliance on Palmerston's bullying. Cockburn was soon afterwards made Solicitor-General and knighted; then, in 1851, he became Attorney-General till February, 1852, and on the coming in of Lord Aberdeen's Government received the post again in December, 1852, and held it under Aberdeen and Palmerston till November, 1856. At that date he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1858 he succeeded to the baronetcy in his family. In 1859 he was Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

His most lasting claim to distinction after he had become a Judge was his conduct in the *Alabama* case. He was named as the English member of the Court of Arbitration which sat at Geneva to settle how far England was liable for the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers fitted out in England to prey on the United States commerce. It was a

foregone conclusion that the American and foreign members would find us liable. Cockburn himself did not deny the liability *in toto*, but dissented from the rest as to some of the instances, and defended his view in a separate judgment, which left us with not the worst of the argument, though we got the worst of the case. A great claim for indirect damages was set aside; our Government with Cockburn's advice refusing to consider it within the scope of the original proposals for arbitration. His knowledge, not only of law, but of men, of foreign languages and ideas—his diplomatic skill, in short—was most valuable in the whole affair. He was offered a peerage after it, but refused.

This was the greatest of his real services. It is doubtful whether in his lifetime more people would not have thought of him as the Judge who presided over the final exposure of the Tichborne fraud, summed up the evidence in an eighteen days' review of the whole case, and sentenced the claimant for perjury. As a last service to his University, Cockburn was chairman of the Cambridge University Commission in 1877-78. He died in 1880.

Henry Fawcett was a man with a very different temperament and history. Born in 1833, he entered at Peterhouse in 1852, but migrated to Trinity Hall at the end of his first year. In 1856 he was Seventh Wrangler. He probably was not so specially gifted in mathematics, as endowed with that vigour of mind and tenacity of purpose which would have made him successful in any study which it was his duty to pursue, and which could be mastered by a clear head and a strong will. He was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall at Christmas, 1856. He intended to go to the Bar,

and the career of a strong Radical lawyer, with political ambitions, seemed to lie before him. He would probably succeed in it, but it would not be very unlike the career of many other successful men. An accident changed the course of his life. In September, 1858, he was shot in the face and completely blinded. The blow, crushing to an ordinary spirit, struck out the heroic fire in Fawcett. With no parade of magnanimity, or of doing anything beyond the common, he returned to Cambridge and adapted himself to the new circumstances of his life. He with Mr. Leslie Stephen, took a prominent part in securing the acceptance of the new statutes, which were passed in 1859, and came into force in 1860, being specially anxious that provision should be made for married Fellows.

In 1863 the first election was held to the new Professorship of Political Economy. Fawcett's interest in the subject was keen, and both before and after his accident he had studied closely the problems of employment and co-operation. He was elected, by a not very large majority of votes, but the University had no reason to regret the bold experiment of a blind Professor. His mastery of detail in his lectures was astonishing. Already he had made a still more daring attempt to put on one side the impediment of his position. He had offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons—to Southwark in 1860, and to Brighton in 1863. He was unsuccessful, but the boldness, honesty, and knowledge of his electioneering addresses had made a great impression. In 1865 he was elected for Brighton. In 1866 he married a wife who was to him a secretary and eyes, besides all else that a wife could be. It was hard to believe

sometimes that the man who knew the thoughts expressed in contemporary literature, and the statistics in Parliamentary Blue-books, who was in touch with the movements of the industrial world, who wrote books, who made speeches, who shared in the life of the College and the University, was not as all other men. It was curious to watch his firm and decisive walk about the College, or to hear him say: 'I saw so-and-so yesterday.' Tall, strong, and athletic by nature, he refused to be cut off from what most would have thought impossible exercises. He rode, skated, swam, dived even from the edge of a swimming-bath. When in Cambridge he continually rowed stroke to the Ancient Mariners, a crew of Dons who used to go down the river three or four times a week. On one occasion, at least, he followed the University race in a steamer, and had the changing fortunes of the struggle described to him as they were happening. If he had done nothing else, he would have done a useful work in setting an example of quiet, indomitable courage.

In politics he was a distinct force. He lost his seat for Brighton in the 1874 election, but was almost immediately elected for Hackney, and kept that seat till he died. In 1880 he was Postmaster-General in Mr. Gladstone's Government, but was not admitted into the Cabinet, on the ground of his blindness making a difficulty in the communication of Cabinet notes. No one ever administered the Post-Office better. He studied the position and interests of the staff, extended the employment of women, and introduced the Parcels Post. He gave of necessity a support to the Government, but was not in fact a keen supporter of all their measures. His strong Radicalism never wavered, but

he was a Professor of the old orthodox Political Economy; he distrusted its banishment to Jupiter and Saturn, and accepted rather than approved of Mr. Gladstone's Irish land legislation. Probably the chief effect of his blindness on his political position was to give him a somewhat detached standing. It softened opposition to him, and perhaps it somewhat modified his party feeling in return. It accentuated his strong individuality and independence. Had he been quite in the same position as other men, he might have been more combative, and perhaps less judicial.

He was of great use in the country as a sound economist, unswayed by the rising Socialistic and Protective theories of the ignorant, but possessing the full confidence and respect of the leaders of the working men and of the trades unions. But his interests were wider than England. His sympathy with India was such that he was commonly called the Member for India. He was an invariable speaker on the Indian Budget. I well remember his rehearsal of an Indian speech in Trinity Hall, when the millions of rupees were marshalled by his precise memory, with scarcely a slip or need of correction from one who held written notes to check his words. The gallant and victorious struggle against misfortune was not prolonged till physical strength failed him. He was able to go on working and beating fate till he died. A severe attack of typhoid fever in the autumn of 1882 injured his constitution, but did not impair his power of work or outward contentment. A chill carried him off somewhat suddenly two years later, on November 6, 1884. He was buried at Trumpington. The eight years from 1880 to 1888 made a notable addition to the past

great names of Trinity Hall, in Cockburn, Fawcett, Maine.

We must end with the more humble story of the bricks and mortar of the College. In 1879 and 1880, as a result of the invention of married Fellows, a Tutor's house in or close to the College became advisable. A house was accordingly built at the east end of the garden, next Garret Hostel Lane. It was the work of a Cambridge builder named Attack. It was first occupied by the Rev. F. L. Hopkins. It was a great addition to the College for facilitating the convenience of administration. The only small subject of regret in connexion with it was that it necessitated the destruction of the old mulberry-tree, planted in 1691.

In 1889-90 the munificence of the Master added the Latham Buildings to the College, a block containing new rooms, which extends from near the corner of the Library towards the gateway from the garden into Garret Hostel Lane. The architects were Messrs. Grayson and Ould, of Chester. The buildings compare favourably with many of the newer buildings in Cambridge. Again, the only sacrifice to be deplored was that of most of the lime-trees, which appear in their infancy in Loggan's view, and had become a fine avenue on that side of the garden. The old stables had also to be pulled down, with resulting discoveries in their walls of fifteenth-century work, which have been noticed above. These buildings enabled a considerable number of the increased undergraduate body to be taken into College.

In 1890-91 further room of another kind was secured by the enlargement of the Hall. Under the direction of Mr. Ould, with Messrs. Kett, of Cambridge, as

builders, it was carried southward into the Master's Lodge, making it fairly capable of holding the men who had to dine there, which it had not been large enough to manage before. The retention of the old panelling at the south end, with the portrait of Sir Nathanael Lloyd, skilfully preserved in its old relative position to the High Table, gives to the enlarged Hall much the aspect of the old. Sir Nathanael and the work of his generation have been treated with far more consideration than they showed for the work of their predecessors or for Dr. Eden's fair Arras hanging. As it was impossible to restore the old Hall which they destroyed, it was right to keep as far as possible the appearance of that which had become venerable in the course of a century and a half. But the invasion of the Master's Lodge by the Hall necessitated the recasting again of that much-recast building. This time the skill of the architect succeeded in improving the house, in spite of the curtailment of part of its proportions, and in extending its accommodation. It is now distinctly a better-arranged and more comfortable house than it was before.

But the services of the Master were not exhausted by the buildings which he had so far paid for, proposed, or superintended. The old Combination-Room was not conveniently situated. It was the only place into which the Library could be extended without interfering with that venerable Elizabethan building. It was accordingly turned into an anteroom to the Library, and furnished with books of reference and conveniences for reading. A new Combination-Room was erected by the Master on the ground once known as the Master's Court, between the Lodge and the back of the 1823

buildings. It lies conveniently in reach of the High Table in the Hall, and is possibly superior to any Combination-Room in Cambridge in general effect and comfort. At the same time, the pictures from the old Combination-Room and others from the Lodge and Hall were removed into it, so that it is almost the picture-gallery as well as the entertaining-room of the College. Bishop Bateman was the constructor; Sir Nathanael Lloyd went near to being the *destructor;* the present Master may well be called the reconstructor of the buildings of the College—and of something more.

The present constitution of the society is as follows: All the thirteen Fellows have the same stipends and privileges, and they and the Master constitute the Governing Body of the College. Fellowships are tenable for six years from the date of election. The holding of certain College offices or Professorships in the University prolongs the tenure of the Fellowships. There is one Professorial Fellowship at the College. There is a Law Lectureship, and at least three Law Studentships; the latter are of the annual value of £50, and are tenable for three years. They are tenable by graduates of the College in Arts or Law, who are preparing for practice in some branch of the legal profession. They entail no obligation of residence.

A fixed proportion of the divisible revenues of the College is annually paid over to the Scholarship Fund. The Governing Body may distribute this among the Scholars and Exhibitioners as it thinks best; but any residue remaining at the end of a year must be applied subsequently to the purposes of the fund, or in rewards and assistance to meritorious students. There are

usually sixteen scholarships, tenable up to the time of taking the B.A. or LL.B. degree. They usually vary from £80 to £21 annual value. Two exhibitions of £80, and some of smaller value, are usually awarded to students who have not yet commenced residence, to be held during their first year of residence. One of these is reserved for those intending to read for Honours in Law or History. Mr. William Walton, Fellow, who died in 1901, has left £1,000 to found a scholarship.

CHAPTER XIV

AMUSEMENTS, THE T.H.B.C. AND WAR

A CURIOUS feature of the history of English Universities during the nineteenth century is the growth of an organized system of games. Whatever may be the cause, the outdoor amusements of England have been as notably and beneficially influenced from Oxford and Cambridge as ever the intellectual life has been. No history of a College would now be judged complete, by the majority of those who are interested in it, which did not contain some reference to the 'Blues'* of the College, as they are now called, and some particular account of its chief distinctions in inter-University contests. It is the function of Calendars to provide records of all the men who have taken Honours in the University from any particular College, and their exact claims to distinction, and so it is the function of Rowing, Cricket, Athletic and Football Almanacs to give the names of all 'Blues.' Certainly in the case of Trinity

* It is worth while to remind non-University men that light blue was not originally a Cambridge colour. It is the colour adopted by the C.U.B.C. in its second match with Oxford, and worn ever since. It was adopted, after leave was asked and given, by the cricket eleven about 1860, and with a modification by the C.U.A.C. when first competing against Oxford. It has been since assumed by other competitors.

Hall the full list would be too long for inclusion here. From the very beginning of contests of this kind between the Universities Trinity Hall men were engaged. In 1827, in the first cricket match, which preceded the Boat Race by two years, and was the first contest of any kind between the Universities, the Cambridge eleven was captained by Mr. Herbert Jenner-Fust, then Herbert Jenner, son of the then future Master of Trinity Hall, later LL.D. and Fellow of Trinity Hall, and still living (1901) in his ninety-sixth year. He scored forty-seven runs, out of a total of ninety-two, and took five Oxford wickets in the only innings played. His younger brother, C. H. Jenner, also of Trinity Hall, played in the second match of 1829. In the first Boat Race, rowed at Henley in 1829, Mr. A. F. Bayford of Trinity Hall rowed two for Cambridge. Mr. Bayford's son, Mr. R. A. Bayford, K.C., rowed stroke to the Trinity Hall boat which was head of the river in the Lent Term 1859, for College first boats then rowed in the Lent Term as well as in the May, and the same gentleman played three years in the eleven against Oxford, being captain once. His son, Mr. R. F. Bayford, Trinity Hall, rowed two in the Cambridge boat against Oxford in 1893. This is probably a unique example, so far, of three generations of 'Blues' in the same College. Mr. A. F. Bayford, moreover, was bracketed first in the first class of the Civil Law Classes of 1829-30, and Mr. R. A. Bayford was bracketed senior in the Law Tripos of 1860, and was a Wrangler in the same year.

Moreover, Mr. J. H. Bayford, of Trinity Hall, brother to Mr. A. F. Bayford of the first University crew, was top in the Civil Law Classes of 1824-25, and probably was not in any University crew only because there

was none to row in. But in 1830 he won the Wingfield Sculls, the amateur championship of the Thames, on the first occasion that the race was rowed. He beat his brother among others, and he beat Sir Alexander Cockburn in the Civil Law Classes.

Mr. Jenner-Fust and the two Bayfords made a good beginning of this new phase of University life in the College, which has been well followed up in subsequent years. It would be invidious to single out many names of men still living, when so many others must needs be passed over; but here and there some occur who must pardon a College historian who cannot in justice omit them in their lifetime from a College record. In the cricket world there has seldom been a more brilliant début, nor a promise more completely fulfilled, than that of Mr. Allan G. Steel, K.C., when he came up from Marlborough to Trinity Hall in 1877. In his first season at Cambridge, 1878, he was a member of one of the best elevens which ever played for either University. An Oxford eleven collapsed, before his bowling chiefly, on a wet wicket, for 32; he took five wickets for eleven runs; and the brilliant Australian team of 1878, the first which came over, went down, defeated in one innings at Lord's by Cambridge in the same year. The Law claimed Mr. Steel when his cricket talents were still at their best. Mr. D. Q. Steel, his brother, of two years above him, was one of the leading bats in the same eleven of 1878. They both played four times against Oxford.

In the first athletic sports between the Universities in 1864, no Trinity Hall men competed. But in 1865 Mr. Cheetham ran in the mile and the quarter, Mr. Roupell competed in the high jump, which he won the next

year, Mr. Gray won throwing the cricket-ball, and Mr. Milvain, now K.C., won the hurdles. Mr. Milvain was yet more distinguished as a heavy-weight boxer. Mr. D. Pearce, Trinity Hall, played in the first Rugby team against Oxford, in 1873, and Mr. E. C. Foà played in the first Association match, March, 1874. But the cricket-field, the running path and the football-field have been trodden by too many successful Trinity Hall athletes to make it possible to particularize further.

The special pursuit in which the College has been distinguished is undoubtedly the river. It began to be known as a good rowing College at about the same time that it ceased to be an almost exclusively Law College, in the middle of the last century. At a time when the numbers of the men resident at it had grown small, and when it had run a risk of sinking into the lowest rank of Colleges, distinguished by nothing except antiquity and memories, the character and influence of the men at the head of the College had begun to attract the best kind of lads from the public schools, and by degrees a steady supply of stalwart Australians, other Britons from beyond the sea, and Americans. These were drawn partly by the traditional study of the Civil Law, but they contributed a valuable element of manhood to the sometimes boyish element from the English schools. They alike found themselves in a College where the fact that the presiding Fellows had been for so long men of the world, lawyers and laymen, had induced a habit of rational treatment of young men, free from pedantry and bigotry, and where in consequence lads, and much more young men, of spirit, felt at home, and free to organize themselves for their own objects. The society was also small enough to encourage a very strong feeling

of *esprit de corps*, among men who were all more or less intimately acquainted.

The rowing of the College was not, of course, only started at that time. The Boat Club, the T.H.B.C., is, like many other great institutions, obscure in its early history and origin. It seems to have come into existence about the same time that some other College boat clubs were started, in the twenties. We may assume that Mr. J. H. Bayford had something to do with its foundation. Mr. H. Jenner-Fust, who was not himself a rowing man, kindly tells me that he remembers its existence in 1825. It had a boat which was painted white, and was called 'The Ghost.' We can picture what it was like from early presentments of other boats, rather smaller than a lifeboat, but of weight which no eight men in these degenerate days could propel. The coxswain probably wore a tall hat; perhaps the crew did. Mr. Jenner-Fust believes that he remembers it rowing a match and being beaten.

The College bumping races began in 1827. In the first races of that year, only a Trinity ten-oar, a Trinity eight, a John's eight, and a Jesus six-oar competed. Bumping races were rowed every term, and at the end of 1828 the Trinity Hall boat was fourth on the river among seven competitors. In 1829, however, for lack of men, the Hall and Caius made up a boat between them, and so did Christ's and Magdalene. The Hall and Caius amalgamation was not in the first seven. Men were elected into a boat club then because they could row. The idea of coaching recruits was unknown. Trinity Hall had probably lost her rowing men when the very ancient Caius alliance was revived in this form.

When Trinity beat the University in 1832, no Trinity

Hall men were in the University crew. The races were rowed from the locks at Chesterton, now abolished, up towards Cambridge, till 1835, when, these locks being removed and no railway-bridge being in the way, something very like the present course was adopted.*

In that year the Hall appears as fifth, the order being Second Trinity, First Trinity, Magdalene, Third Trinity, Trinity Hall. After that there is a long disappearance from the upper places on the river, and only in the fifties does the College rise to what was to become its natural level.

The enthusiasm for the river was growing fast between 1840 and 1860.† In the words, or in words to this effect, of a Trinity Hall man now eminent in literature, boat-racing had peculiar attractions for the healthy young Englishman. It entailed a great deal of very hard and very disagreeable work, and much positive discomfort. If cultivated to excess it might injure the health. It might be made to interfere with studies. It gave an excuse for periodical outbursts of hilarity, which if skilfully managed might lead to rows with the authorities. The pursuit was carried on in company with others, and individual was very much less impor-

* The building of the railway-bridge in 1846 necessitated cutting the course short, as boats could not race under the old bridge. The substitution of the present bridge in 1871 enabled the course to be lengthened again.

† Between 1820 and 1830 the name 'rowing men' did not exist in Cambridge as a description of men who took their amusement on the river. They were not a known set then in the University. 'Rowing men'—that is, noisy or disorderly men, those who 'made a row'—were known and so described. The similarity of spelling may occasion a future misreading of past memoirs, for the two words were applied to quite different classes of men at different times. Rowing men, in the modern sense, came into existence about 1830, and the other class of men became differently described.

tant than combined excellence. It is no wonder that the T.H.B.C. was enthusiastically supported, nor that a reputation having once been won, great efforts were made to keep it up, as a point of College honour. The undergraduate of to-day must remember that there was formerly no cheap amusement in the October and Lent Terms of any general interest except rowing. More men, in proportion to the numbers in the University, probably rode, hunted, or rode to Newmarket, between 1840 and 1870, than do so now. There were a few fives, racquet, and tennis courts; but football was only beginning to come in a little while before 1870. There was a game on Parker's Piece on some afternoons in the October Term, and there was an old Etonian club existing, which played a few matches. Hockey and Lacrosse were unknown. Golf had not crossed the Tweed, except to Blackheath and a few spots where Scotchmen had made converts. It was not known in Cambridge. There were no bicycles. There were not even College athletic sports till the early sixties, and no one then spent much pains on practising for them.

Volunteering was not taken very seriously, after the enthusiasm of the first start had died away. The man who wanted exercise, and could not afford a horse, had to take long walks, for which Cambridgeshire is not attractive, or row, or go down to the river and run with the boats. In the May Term there was cricket, no lawn tennis, however. There was bowls, and after 1860 croquet for Dons, valetudinarians and loafers. But for two-thirds of the academic year the river was the great outlet for bodily vigour. A College with a healthy tone in it, which deprecated loafing and too close attendance on billiard-tables, was bound to be a keen

rowing College. Such Trinity Hall became in the fifties. Mr. P. Hartley, of Trinity Hall, had rowed in the second match against Oxford, in 1836. He rowed four, and Cambridge won by sixty seconds over the Westminster to Putney course. But it was not till 1856 that Trinity Hall had two more University oars in the Oxford match—E. H. Fairrie, who rowed four, and J. P. Salter, who rowed bow, in a winning crew. Salter had won the Colquhoun Sculls in 1855, and in the same year Trinity Hall won the University Fours, and the Boat Club may be said to have made its mark in the rowing world. In that same year, 1855, H. W. Schreiber and E. H. Fairrie, Trinity Hall, had rowed three and four respectively in the Cambridge University boat which won the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley Regatta. Schreiber was the first Trinity Hall man President of the C.U.B.C. The winning four, who may be said to have established the reputation of the T.H.B.C., were 1, Salter; 2, Fairrie; 3, Schreiber; stroke, Campbell; cox, Fitzroy. Fitzroy became a Fellow of the College.

The oar with which Campbell was traditionally said to have rowed in this crew, with a square loom, 'in weight like unto a weaver's beam,' long ornamented the rooms on the ground-floor opposite the Classical Lecture Room, and is now in the Tutor's house. Mr. Fairrie long remained a familiar figure to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and all rowing men. He was judge at Henley and for the University race for many years, and never failed, while his health allowed, to attend the races in Cambridge, where his shrewd and kindly humour made him doubly welcome.

From this time onward the College, with often not above fifty or sixty men in residence, was a recognised

power on the river. In 1855 and 1856 they got up to second on the river. In the Lent races of 1859 they went head, but were bumped by Third Trinity in May. The year 1859 was a great year for the College in other ways. Under the leadership of R. A. Bayford, stroke of the boat and captain of the University Eleven, the Hall Eleven beat all the other Colleges except St. John's. The Johnians had no innings, for they could not get the Hall out, and so the match was left drawn.* In 1861 Trinity Hall rowed a dead-heat with Third Trinity for the University Fours. In 1862 they went head in the May Term. In 1863 they fell to Third Trinity, but went head again in 1864, but were bumped again by Third Trinity in 1865. In 1866 they had a fair chance of recovering the headship; but a few days before the races an accident to Mr. D. F. Steavenson, now County Court Judge in Cumberland, spoiled their chance. Mr. Steavenson had rowed three times in the University boat.

From that time the fortunes of the club were for a while less brilliant, though they maintained their position and reputation as a strenuous rowing College. The most notable tradition of the period is told of the May races of 1869, when the crew finished the course with seven oars, Mr. J. A. Campbell, rowing five, having broken his oar and jumped overboard at Ditton Corner, when the boat was overlapping Third Trinity. In 1870 Mr. J. F. Strachan, of Trinity Hall, an Australian, rowed seven in the University boat, which beat Oxford. The *Field* picked him out as the best oar in the two crews, which included Goldie of Lady Margaret and Darbishire of Balliol. Strachan also ran

* I tell the tale as told to me, by the chief actor.

second for the Hundred Yards against Oxford in the sports of 1869. He was the first Trinity Hall double Blue. He had rowed three in the boat out of which Campbell dived. We have since then had a treble Blue, Mr. A. E. Hind, for cricket, football (Rugby), and the sports.

To revert to the fortunes of the Boat Club. It was not till 1880 that the T.H.B.C. won its first success at Henley, when Mr. Brooksbank's crew won the Ladies' Plate. They were a light crew, but well stroked and well together. In 1885 the first of Mr. Bristowe's brilliant crews won the Steward's Cup at Henley, beating a very powerful Canadian four, though on the outside on the old course. In 1886 Trinity Hall went head of the river, and rowed head till 1889. In 1890 they recovered the headship, and rowed head till 1898. They won the University Fours in 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1897. But it was at Henley that their great career started in 1885. Since, and including that year, the club has won the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley three times, the Steward's Cup three times, the Ladies' Plate once, the Thames Cup twice, the Visitors' Cup three times, the Wyfold Cup three times, and a Trinity Hall man has twice won the Diamond Sculls. In 1886, for the final heat of the Grand Challenge, they beat the Oxford Etonians, who had a crew entirely composed of University oars, past or future. The great year, however, was 1887, when the first boat of the College, with one additional man taking his seat in one of the fours, won the Grand Challenge for eights, and the Steward's and the Visitors' for fours; while the second boat won the Ladies' and the Thames for eights. No other club ever won five events at

Henley in the same year. No other College has ever won the Grand Challenge three times since its foundation in 1839, except Trinity College, Cambridge,* and no other club has ever won fifteen events in eights and fours in seventeen consecutive years, except the London Rowing Club between 1868 and 1884; and their percentage of wins to entries was not so high as that of Trinity Hall. These are from one point of view trifling matters. They are the account of a game well played; but for those who know what self-denial, strenuous endeavour, unselfishness, zeal, and care are a necessity for success, what a sense of duty and of discipline are implied in its attainment, not among the winners only, but in the College, through many generations of undergraduate life, it implies something of which all connected with the College may be justly proud. The life which it expresses is something very different from the ideal which the Lord Bishop William of Norwich had as his ideal when he founded the College, but it is far from being incompatible with the loftiest aims of the great and pious founder, who willed that his *Domus* should nurture men ready to serve in Church and State. They serve in a wider State now than any of which he thought, even when he looked rather to the past Imperial State than to the young kingdom of his narrow England.

'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'

Each generation of life at the University covers a very short span, but during that little time every man is a tenant for life, as it were, charged in his degree

* Trinity College has won it twice, First Trinity—a subdivision of Trinity College—twice.

with the care of upholding the traditions of a great and ancient foundation, striving, as his Act closes, to be worthy of the words of dismissal:

'Tu quidem Domine tuo officio optime functus es.'

South Africa.

It is hard to find a place for the warlike annals of a College, but what may be added is not unconnected with the story of disciplined endeavour told above. Over eighty Trinity Hall men went to South Africa in 1899-1901. Twenty went straight from the walls of the College. D. A. Wauchope, D.S.O., Imperial Yeomanry, who was stroke of the University boat and of the Trinity Hall boat which won the G.C.C. at Henley, 1895; E. A. Manisty, C.I.V.; J. Gilmour, Fife Light Horse, whose brother, H. Gilmour, was dangerously wounded; Chandos Leigh, D.S.O., 1st K.O.S.B., have been mentioned in despatches. W. J. Fernie, stroke of the University boat in 1896-1897, and R. P. Croft, winner of the Colquhoun Sculls, 1893, aide-de-camp to Lord Methuen, may be also mentioned as worthily upholding the name of the College. Some will not return. The Hon. Hugh George Gough, on the Staff, scion of a fighting family, who rowed two of the Trinity Hall boat in 1871; L. O. T. Baines, an Athletic Blue, and F. S. P. Weston, died of illness. Colonel F. C. Meyrick, C. R. Holmes, and S. F. Wombwell, of the Yeomanry, H. Faunce de Laune, and two gallant Colonial sons of the College, P. L. Russell, of New Zealand, and N. L. Calvert of Australia, Lieutenant in the Carabineers, who rowed two of the University boat in 1899, were

killed in action. If others are unrecorded the loss is ours, not theirs. A memorial is to be erected to them in the Chapel. Can we conclude better than with the noble words of the Lesson read year by year at Dr. Eden's Commemoration Service?—

'Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore.'

APPENDICES

I.—INVENTORY OF BOOKS, PLATE AND LANDS, MADE 1557

(FROM VOL. II., MISCELLANEA, TRINITY HALL LIBRARY.)

THIS Inventary Indented made 22° die Januarii Anno domini secundum computationem ecclesie Anglicane 1556 conteynethe all bokes, plate dettes & leases, &c' belongyng to Trinite hall in Cambridge.

[This was made at the time of Pole's Visitation of the University. The letter B indicates possible survivals of Bateman's Library. The * marks books in the College Library now.]

? B Corpus iuris civilis glossatum in 5 libris.
* Bartholus in 5 libris.
Paulus Castrensis cum prima et secunda parte cons' in 5 libris.
* Jason super digest' veteri et novo in duobus libris (1545 in 4 vols.).
Ordo Judiciarius scriptus in pargameno.
Franciscus de Aretio consilia cum aliis.
Speculum in duobus libris.
Repertorium Bertachini in tribus libris.
* Consilia Alexandri de Imola cum aliis.
Angelus super Autenticis.
Repertorium Antonii de prato.

* Summa et conclusiones super 6 (*i.e.*, super sextum librum Decretalium, the book added by Boniface VIII., 1298).

Rofredus Beneventanus cum aliis.

Practica Petri de ferrariis.

* Bartho: super 2 parte C. (*i.e.*, Bartholomæus de Chasseneuz, 1531, super secunda parte Conciliorum).

Nicolaus Siculus super secundum decretal'.

Anto. de Butrio super primum decretal'.

Nicolaus Siculus super 2, 3, 4, 5, decretal' in duobus libris.

? B Questiones Jo. Andr. cum aliis script'.

Panormitanus super omnes libros decretal' script' in duobus libris.

Statuta Regni in tribus libris.

* Francisc' de Aretio super Instit'.

Dominicus super 6.

Philip ffranc' super 6.

? B Decretales sext' et clement'* glossat' in duobus libris.

Archidiaconus super decret'.

Cardinalis super decret'.

* Zabarell super clement'* (2 vols.).

* ? B Summa decretal' script'.

* Panormitanus super secunda secundi et tertio decretal' script'.

* Pupilla Oculi (Johannes de Burgo in MS.).

B Magister Sententiarum script' in pargameno.

Speculum historiale scriptum in duobus libris.

Lira super veteri testamento in tribus libris.

B Expositiones vocabulorum script'.

B Arnoldus de divisione verb' script'.

B Moralium diui Gregorii vna pars script'.

* Consilia philip' Cornei in quatuor libris.

* 'The Clementines' of Clement V.

PLATE.

oon dozen spones with Maydens heades.
oon dozen spones with wrethen knopps.
oon other dozen playn spones.
ix spones with knopps.
A flat pece hole gylt.
vi flat pecys of syluer pownced & grauen.
ij masers.
oon standyng maser with a cover.
iij chalyce hole gylt.
iiij siluer pottes (possibly extant).
oon great salt with a cover hole gylt.
oon other lesser salt with a cover hole gylt.
iiij syluer saltes parcele gylt.
oon standyng pece with a cover parcele gylt.
oon basyn & ewer of syluer.
ij candylstyckes of syluer.
oon standyng pece with a cover hole gylt (perhaps the 'Founder's Cup').
oon flat pece pownced.
a boxe of yuery bownd with syluer (perhaps the 'Una Pixis magna de Ebore' of Bateman's legacy).
v spones ii of them gylt thoder brokn.

IN YE KECHYN.

oon newe garnishe of pewter vessell.
A great panne of laten & ij small.
iiij great pottes of brasse.
ii small brasse pottes.
a chaser of brasse.
vi great spettes.
oon pan of Coper.
oon other garnishe of pewter.
ii posnettes.

Lands and Tenements, Leased.

The original is in Latin, except the names, which have been copied precisely as spelt.

A garden with a pigeon-house in the parish of St. Giles, Cambridge, let to Thomas Ferrour the 5th October in 31st of H. VIII. for a term of 20 years at 10s. a year.

Two Tenements in the parish of St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, let to George Lambart the 29th October in 19th H. VIII. for a term of 40 years at £2 6s. 8d. a year.

Two Tenements in the parish of All Saints [Cambridge] let to William Moyn the 13th May in 1st Mary, for a term of 21 years at £11 6s. 8d. a year.

A Tenement in the parish of St. Mary [Cambridge] let to Lawrence hawes 10th October in 2nd Ed. VI. for a term of 45 years at 20s. a year.

Three acres of land in the parish of St. Andrew's [Cambridge] let to William hasyll 18th October in 34th H. VIII. for a term of 21 years at 5s. 10d. a year.

Land called Crowchemans in Thriplow in the county of Cambridge, let to Thomas Prime 1st September in 36th H. VIII. for a term of 21 years at £6 a year.

The Manor of Mutford' and Turk' in the county of Hertford, let to Robert Meryton 18th April in 33rd H. VIII. for a term of 30 years at £15 a year.

The Manor of Quinbery in the same county let to John Gayler 2nd March in 32nd H. VIII. for a term of 30 years at £15 10s. 8d. [a year?]

Land [called] Odams in Multon in the county of Suffolk let to John Whytyng 21st September 32nd H. VIII. for a term of 20 years at £8 a year, and after that term let to the same man for the same rent for a term of 30 years.

The Rectory of Cowlege let to Robert Whytyng, clerk,

4th November in 21st H. VIII. for the term of his life at £9 6s. 8d. and a boar [yearly], and after his life it is let to Francis Rokhode at the same rent for a term of 30 years.

Land with the Rectory in Wooddallyng in the county of Norfolk let to William Bulwer 22nd October in 2nd Ed. VI. for a term of 25 years at £14 a year.

The Rectory of Stalham in the county of Norfolk let to John Swaynson 5th May in 6th Ed. VI. for a term of 10 years at £11 6s. 8d. a year.

The Rectory of Bryston let to Richard Browne, clerk, 20th September in 6th Ed. VI. for the term of his life at £7 6s. 8d. a year.

The Rectory of Brynyngham let to Thomas Clerkson, clerk, for the term of his life at £4 13s. 4d. a year.

The land [called] Langhams with the Rectory of Kymberley let to Roger Woodhouse, knight, 1st October in 30th H. VIII. for a term of 20 years at £10 13s. 4d. a year.

The Rectory of Charlgraue in the county of Bedford let to William Smythe last year for a term of 99 years at £15 a year.

II.—THE LIBRARY

The building and fittings of the Library, the iron staples with chains to fasten the books, are among the most interesting in Cambridge. The contents do not include any great number of very valuable books or MSS., except a very copious collection of the literature of the Canon and the Civil Law. But there still exist a few MSS., among which is possibly one of those given or left by the founder to the College in the fourteenth century. This is a MS. *Liber Decretalium* with glosses. Another fourteenth-century MS. is a Treatise on the Errors of the Lollards, dedicated to Richard II., with an illuminated first page containing a picture of the King. It is a fine piece of writing and was presented to the College by Mr. Robert Hare late in the sixteenth century. The same presented the following MSS.: a geographical work called *Imago Mundi;* the great Chronicle of St. Augustine's at Canterbury by Thomas of Elmham, *temp.* Henry V., a very fine copy; *Walden contra Wiclifium,* 1415; St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei;* and other books. Other MSS. in the Library are *Pupilla Oculi* by Johannes de Burgo; another geographical MS.; a Life of St. Martin; St. Ambrose *de Virginibus*; St. Jerome *on Job, etc., to Daniel;* a Commentary on the Psalms; and *Boethius de Consolatione* in French, profusely illuminated and illustrated. This is a copy of the translation of 1371, which used to be falsely attributed to Charles,

Duc d'Orléans, who was not born then. It is dated 1406, and is believed to be the earliest dated copy of the translation. It is a book of great value and beauty.

Among other MS. works are the Elizabethan statutes of the University, in a contemporary hand, and Cowell's *Institutiones Juris Anglicani* in his own hand, with a dedication to Henry, Earl of Northampton, a former Fellow Commoner of Trinity Hall, and to King James the First. Among early printed books are Montanus' great 'Polyglot' Bible, dedicated to Philip II., Bartholus, in five volumes; Jasonis Mayni *Digestum*, printed 1545; *Concilia* Alexandri de Imola; *Summa et Conclusiones super sextum librum Decretalium;* Bartholomæus de Chasseneuz *Super secunda parte Conciliorum*, printed 1535; Franciscus Aretinus *super Institutis;* Zabarellius *Super Clementinis; Concilia* Philippi Cornei—all printed before the middle of the sixteenth century.

The present Master has fitted up the old Combination-Room as an anteroom to the Library, with books of reference of more general interest than the above.

III.—PLATE

THE Trinity Hall plate did not go to the army chest of King Charles. That of some Colleges, of Queens', for instance, got through to Oxford; that of others was intercepted by Cromwell. In either case the College did not see it again. Dr. Eden was a Parliamentarian, and his College plate stopped at home. Such changes as were made in it were due to ordinary wear and tear, or to the change of fashion which led the eighteenth century to recast much plate. But much of curious interest remains. The Founder's Cup is a silver-gilt beaker, with cover, a plain tun with slightly curving sides, a narrow band round the middle, and a band round the brim. The rim of the cover is surrounded with low broad battlements. The finial in the cover is supposed to have been filled by a jewel. Its place is supplied by an opal bust of Pallas Athene, the gift of Mr. H. W. Willett. On the bottom of the cup inside are the arms of Bishop Bateman, surrounded by a design originally filled in with enamel, of which traces remain. The arms are also on the cover. The weight is now 18·29 ounces, the height $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the diameter at the brim $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches, at the base $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. There is the mark of an unknown maker. The cup is very probably of foreign manufacture. Whether it was presented by the Founder is doubtful. He left by will Communion Plate, but there is no record of this gift. The style of the workmanship is not unlike fifteenth-century rather than fourteenth-century work.

The pattern of the cup has evidently suggested that of a large number of silver tuns since presented to the College. Four of these are named in the inventory of 1557 (*vide supra*); the others have been given at various times, and generally bear the names of the donors, their arms, and the date. Archbishop Parker presented a standing cup and cover, silver-gilt, in 1569. The marks are invisible; the weight is now 34 ounces, the height $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The date of manufacture is uncertain, but it is not impossibly a pre-Reformation cup which had come into the possession of the Archbishop. Parker also presented in 1571 a silver-gilt tankard with lid. The marks are N of 1570-71; London assay office; FR in monogram. The weight is now 16·08 ounces, but it is inscribed 16 ounces. The height is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The arms on the bottom are those of the Archbishop.

Bishop Barlow (of Lincoln) left a standing cup and cover, silver-gilt, to the College in 1613. The upper part is ornamented with fleurs-de-lis and scallop shells. The female figure with a spear on the top has been added in place of the original finial. The marks are L of 1608-9, a lion passant, a leopard's head crowned, T.C. with three pellets above and one below in a shield. The weight is now 38·6 ounces, inscribed 39 ounces. The height, with cover, is $20\frac{7}{8}$ inches, the diameter of the bowl $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of the foot $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Dr. Eden, 1645, left by will money which was laid out on a silver-gilt tankard, weighing 45 ounces. John Sudbury, Fellow Commoner, later a Fellow, presented a silver porringer and cover in 1677. The marks are T. H. with a star below, repeated four times. The weight is now 32·88 ounces. The height is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Agnes Byllyng, 'almeswoman,' presented a spoon inscribed with her name. The marks are said to connect it with 1590. It is probable that she belonged to the Hospital of St. Margaret at Huntingdon, though an almswoman capable of presenting silver spoons seems an anomaly.

IV.—PICTURES

THE College possesses some interesting portraits. In the Combination-Room there is one of Gardiner, by a painter of Holbein's school. It is claimed for Holbein himself, but doubtfully. There is a *replica* in the Master's Lodge. In the same room are Lord Chesterfield; Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham; Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; John Andrew, LL.D., Fellow; Francis Dickins, LL.D., Regius Professor of Civil Law; James Johnson, LL.D., Fellow, 1672-1727; Mr. W. Walton, Fellow; Lord Justice Romer by Dickinson; and the large picture of the Degree Day in 1863, when Lord Justice Romer was Senior Wrangler, introducing his portrait, Dr. Geldart (Master), Mr. Latham, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Whewell, Professor Sedgwick, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Charles Kingsley, and many then well-known figures in the University and the town. It is by Farren, a local artist.

In the Hall a full-length portrait of Sir Nathanael Lloyd, Master 1710-1735, is inserted in the panelling above the High Table. On the east side are Sir Alexander Cockburn, Chief Justice, by Watts; Lord Fitzwilliam, founder of the Fitzwilliam Museum; Sir Henry Maine, Master 1877-1888; S. Hallifax, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester; Sir Edward Simpson, Master 1731-1764. On the west side are the present Master, the Rev. H. Latham, by Holl; Professor

Fawcett; and Edward Lytton Bulwer Lytton, the first Lord Lytton. In the dining-room of the Master's Lodge are three divines of uncertain names, but possibly Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot, and Bishop Curle; Archbishop Laud, a poor copy of a well-known portrait; Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper; Gardiner, a *replica* of the portrait in the Combination-Room; Clement Corbet, Master 1611-1626, a better picture than some of the others, of a man who looks like a gentleman, as no doubt he was; Coxe, Bishop of Ely; Sir Henry Martyn, a Judge of James I.'s time; Archbishop Parker; Dr. Geldart, Master 1852-1877. In the Hall is a marble bust of Lord Mansfield, by Nollekens, and in the Combination-Room a marble bust of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen. There is a large altar-piece in the Chapel of the Presentation in the Temple, by Stella.

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